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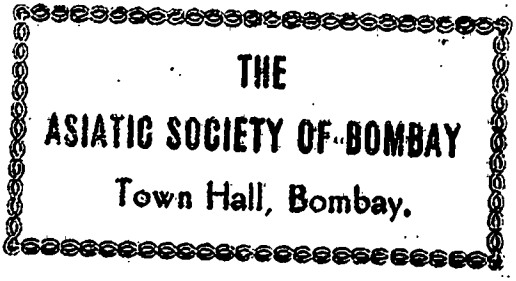

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ANNALS OF JAMAICA.

THE

Annals of Jamaica.

BY

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ANNALS OF JAMAICA.

THE arduous undertaking of printing a voluminous work, with the Atlantic rolling between the pen and the press, will, the Author hopes, plead in extenuation of those errors which might possibly have been corrected under his own superintendence; and the charitable reader will extend his indulgence to that arrangement of the numerous Notes which advice or experience might probably have improved.

Jamaica, May, 1826.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

Of all the various descriptions of literature, History has ever been esteemed the most instructive, the most liberal, and the most amusing; and that the history of our own country deserves our first and best attention, is a proposition which can require neither argument nor illustration. Although these Western Isles may seem to afford but little scope for historical research, and their domestic institutions are unhappily founded upon a system repugnant to the spirit of the times we live in; yet even that system has become interesting, since it was fostered and encouraged as a source of national wealth and naval power. Human foresight, it is true, could not anticipate the experience of two hundred years. It was enough for mortal statesmen to consult the wishes, and promote the happiness of their own age; while the system, objectionable as it may now appear, still rests upon the surest of all foundations—the security of public faith.

The Island of Jamaica has not been without its historians, but their works are defective, scarce, or erroneous. Discussions upon colonial subjects have, indeed, wearied the eye of late, but they have been distorted by prejudice, or influenced by faction—seldom confined within the limits of national controversy, and never free from an interested bias. The ungracious task of correcting errors, or supplying defects, suggested, therefore, the compilation of an historical work differently arranged, and continued down far beyond the period where others have closed their labours. To rescue an interesting portion of history, intimately connected with that of the empire, from the dark sea of oblivion into which it is rapidly declining—to preserve the substance of those records and traditional observations, *ad historiam pretiosissimum supellex*, which time is hourly sweeping away—and to exhibit a valuable possession of the British crown in its true light, is the object of the present undertaking.

It is unnecessary to detain the reader by apologising for the apparent, though relevant variety of the subjects comprehended in a local history of such limited extent; but to explain the nature of my plan, it may be proper to state that such original materials as could illustrate the subject, and those authorities whose fidelity might be relied on, have

been diligently consulted and accurately quoted. A dark cloud hangs over the early annals of Jamaica, —a cloud which the scanty materials surviving the age when America was closely sealed by Spain, seldom enable us to penetrate. Where, however, one source of information has failed, another has been sought, and sometimes found;—while every little stream has been directed into the common channel.

In that portion of the work which has unavoidably extended beyond the limits of a note, comprehending a sketch of slavery, I am not ignorant that, in strictly adhering to the truth of history, the result of my enquiries may affect the interests of some, and clash with the opinions of others. Yet those enquiries have been pursued without prejudice or partiality. Authentic facts alone have been reported, and such conclusions drawn from them as experience may justify, and reason approve. The course of events which is rapidly changing the important features of the ecclesiastical establishment of Jamaica, must necessarily leave that comprehensive portion of its history, for the present, incomplete. And in treating, very imperfectly it must be confessed, of the natural productions of the island, I have chosen rather to select such points as may excite attention and invite research, than to describe objects already common, and productions *now become familiar.*

The progress of my subject will lead me through the detail of an age stained by domestic revolt, and agitated by the effects of a revolutionary war, to the gratifying consideration of the present peaceful condition of the colony. And here, perhaps, I ought to pause. I am aware that no praise bestowed by me can add to the high character of the illustrious personage who, during a period of unprecedented extent and varied danger, has administered the government of Jamaica. I am sensible that my feeble pen can never increase the attachment which is universally felt towards a nobleman, who by a rare combination of candour, magnanimity and prudence, has had the singular happiness to be honored by the approbation of his sovereign, and to secure the gratitude of those whom he has so ably governed. Should I be charged with presumption for thus introducing the name of the Duke of Manchester, I must plead in extenuation the many favours which his Grace has been pleased to confer on one who cannot restrain the overflowing of a grateful heart.

Were this volume to be submitted to the judgment of the liberal and enlightened only—to such as seek truth and information, without partiality to mislead or prejudice to bias their opinion of those whom chance has placed in these isles—who can believe that an English gentleman may visit and faithfully

describe them, without a deriliction of the virtues which adorn his native land,—or who allow that they give birth to men inheriting the same consideration for those whom the laws have placed beneath them, as is elsewhere found,—I should feel but little anxiety for its fate. But experience teaches me to anticipate the united attacks of calumny and detraction; —of those whose purpose it is to bring ruin and desolation on these devoted colonies; and with whom no authority, however great, no testimony however respectable, has any influence, unless it tend to the advancement of their own visionary projects;—of those, in short, who insidiously confound the reported acts of former times with the present improved condition of Africa's transplanted sons. To such persons the page of history is uselessly unfolded. The origin and progress of slavery in the British Indies, the gradual melioration of its early conditions, and the present comparative lightness of its bonds, the experience of ages, and the fate of nations, are alike disregarded by them, although they afford the most irrefragable arguments against the wild and destructive scheme of sudden emancipation. Whenever these false philanthropists shall feel—(a calculation of time which who shall dare to furnish them with?)—that the happiness of barbarian tribes depends upon something more substantial than civil liberty, they

may perhaps form a different opinion of the present state of evanescent servitude in these Western Isles.

Not discouraged, however, by the multitude of powerful assailants whose hostile ranks already threaten me, I look forward,—if my life be spared amidst the diseases which impair, and the difficulties which embitter it in a country little friendly to the pursuits of literature—to the completion of a task long since undertaken with the purest motives. Without expectation of pecuniary recompense, or ambition of literary fame, but with the ardent hope that I may thus become instrumental in removing those prejudices which, although fostered by the ignorant, or inflamed by the artful, have instilled a fatal poison into the generous and unsuspecting minds of the British public.

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THE

ANNALS OF JAMAICA.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

THE genuine journals of Columbus, the Pinçons, Ojeda, Ovando, Balboa, and others of the first navigators who successively discovered the different regions of the New World, have unfortunately been lost, or never published; and if the originals be extant amongst the archives of Lisbon, or Goa, they are still beyond our reach. The sources, therefore, from whence we principally derive our acquaintance with this hemisphere, are little better than compilations from these authors, made by various collectors, some of whom have never quitted Europe, and many of them been biassed by national prejudices, or blinded by credulous ignorance; thus transmitting accumulated errors through every successive work.

As the testimony of such historians will not weigh equally in the scale of criticism, it becomes important to make some observations on the character of the several authors, on whose faith rest many of the facts recorded in the following pages.

The most celebrated historians of the New World are,

Amongst the Italians and Spaniards,

Oviedo, Cortez, Las Casas, Gomera, Peter Martyr, Herrera, Benzo, Diaz del Castillo, Solis, Acosta, Bernard de Vergas, Pedro de Cieca, Garcilasso de la Vega, Diego Fernandez, Mendez Pinto, Texeira, Jean de Laet, Antonio de Remosal.

Amongst the French,

Lescarbot, Champelain, Jean de Leri, Vincent le Blanc, Moquet, Cluvier, Oexmelin, Rochefort, L'Abbé Raynal, La Borde, M. de Pauw, Labat.

Amongst the English and Scotch,

Gage, Hickeringill, Brown, Oldmixon, Blome, Sir Hans Sloane, Lionnel Waffer, Long, Edwards, Trapham, Dallas, and Robertson.

The following writers I would particularly notice, as their works are very important, and their observations often quoted:—

	Who wrote in		Who wrote in
Peter Martyr	A.D. 1488	Trapham	A.D. 1676
Cortez	1520	Lionnel Waffer	1677
Diaz Castillo	1520	Barham	1679
Oviedo	1535	Sir Hans Sloane	1687
Benzone	1542	Browne	1755
Las Casas	1550	Oldmixon	1708
Gomera	1550	Robinson	1760
Acosta	1599	Long	1774
Herrera	1620	L'Abbé Raynal	1780
Gage	1625	De Pauw	1770
Solis	1640	Bryan Edwards	1793
Rochefort	1658	Dallas	1803

I.—The author of *The Decades of the Ocean*, PETER MARTYR, was born at Arona on the Lake Major, in the year 1455: his family, one of the most illustrious in Milan, took the name of Anghiera, or Anglerius, from a small town in that neighbourhood; which distinguishes this historian from another contemporary, Peter Martyr, who was born at Florence, and whose work on Magellan's expedition was destroyed in the sack of Rome by the Constable de Bourbon. In 1477 he went to Rome, and entered the service of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza; and afterwards that of the Archbishop of Milan. During a residence there of ten years, he formed an acquaintance with the most eminent literary men of his time, and amongst others with Pomponio Leto. In 1487 he went to Spain, in the suite of the Spanish ambassador, who was returning home, and by whom he was presented to Ferdinand and Isabella. He served in two campaigns, and then changed his profession of arms for that of the church—being appointed by the Queen to the situation of teacher of belles-lettres to the young men of the court, and afterwards preferred to the office of state-counsellor. In 1501 he was sent on an embassy to the Sultan of Egypt; and, returning in the following year, was named a member of the memorable Council of the Indies—upon which occasion the Pope, at the King's request, made him his Apostolical Prothonotary, and Prior of the church of Grenada. After the death of Ferdinand, he continued in favour with the Emperor

Charles, who presented him with the honours and emoluments of the abbey of Jamaica. He never visited his distant cure; but died at Grenada in 1526, leaving several historical works unpublished.

The work which is quoted in the following pages, was compiled from the manuscripts and despatches of Columbus himself, and, therefore, ranks highest in the scale of authority: it comprises thirty letters, divided into three parts, under the title of "De Rebus Oceanicis, et Orbe Novo, decades." These letters were, at first, published separately—the first of them, which, with the second, is dedicated to his early friend the Cardinal Sforza, is dated in 1493, the year in which Columbus brought home the news of his discoveries; and being written from the court by which that navigator was employed, it doubtless contains the recital of the great discoverer himself. The succeeding letters, of which some are addressed to Cardinal Louis d'Arragon, and others to Pope Leo X., correspond with the progress of the discoveries, and are all written in good Latin.

Long and Edwards are undoubtedly wrong in assuming that Peter Martyr was ever personally in Jamaica; they have done so upon the mere authority of a sculptured stone found in the ruined abbey at New Seville, which bore his name and titles. It is certain, however, that he merely enjoyed the honourable, but sinecure, appointment of abbot of that newly-founded monastery, and never crossed the Atlantic. Yet his merit as an author, his excellent

opportunities of obtaining information from its very source, and the simplicity of his style, have justly given to his work a reputation of accuracy, singular in those times of ignorance and amazement. In 1516 he collected all his letters, and dedicated them, under the above title, to Charles V. They were reprinted at Alcala in 1530. His friend, Anthony of Nebrissa, who again reprinted them, added a treatise, *De Insulis nuper inventis, et incolarum moribus*; and another, *De Legatione Babylonicâ*; two anterior works of this historian, which, until then, had not been published. At the same time he blamed the modesty of the author for having so long suppressed them: "My dear Martyr," says he, "is capable of distinguishing himself in every species of composition, but he is the most modest of men."

The edition herein used, is that of Basle, 1533, folio.

II. FERDINAND CORTEZ was a native of Medelino, a town in Estremadura: he undertook the conquest of Mexico in 1518; attached it to the kingdom of New Spain, which he established, and died there in 1547. His letters to Charles V., which were written during his expedition, amidst the clash of arms and the din of war, are not, consequently, much in detail; yet they form a valuable source of authentic information. They were published at Madrid, under the title of "*Cartas de D. Hernando Cortez, Marquis del Valle, de la Conquista de Mexico, al Emperador.*"

III. Bernard diaz del Castillo confines himself chiefly to the voyages and wars of Cortez in his famous expedition to Mexico. An author who professes to have been the constant companion of his hero, and to have reported nothing but what he witnessed, merits, no doubt, our greatest confidence. Accordingly, he is not suspected of error, though his writings are tinctured with no small portion of jealousy and ambition; which causes him often to condemn the conduct of the general, or to attribute his actions to the worst of motives. Solis observed of him, that he explained himself better with the sword than with the pen; and though he reproaches him with the rudeness of his style, he declares that the defect carries with it an appearance of good faith, which lends much authority to the history he details. His work was not published till 1632, long after his death, by a brother of the order of Mercy: it is entitled, *Historia Verdadera de la Conquesta de la Nueva Espanna*, folio, Madrid, of which I have never met with a translation.

IV. Gonzale Oviedo was governor of the fortress of St. Domingo; and in 1535 published his history, entitled, *La Historia General y Naturel de las Indias*, taking, as he says, Pliny for his model; with this difference only—that he commences with the discovery and conquest of the country he treats of. He left Madrid in 1513, appointed to the situation of comptroller of the mines. The duties of

this office called him to the continent of America, where his services were eminently useful in the various treaties with the Indians; and, after an absence of twelve years, on his return to Spain, finding nothing but erroneous accounts of matters familiar to him, he was induced to compose from memory a summary of the natural history of the West Indies. Residing afterwards in Hispaniola, as governor of that colony, he perfected his work; and published it in one volume, comprising twenty books. To these he soon after added two more; and undertook a voyage home to present them to the Emperor Charles, who had honoured him with the title of his historiographer, as well as a considerable pension. But this seems to have been the last of his labours, at least I cannot discover that he ever returned to his government; and Jean Poleur, valet-de-chambre to the Dauphin, to whom we owe the translation of his work in 1556, throws no light upon his future destiny. The Seville edition of 1535 is that from which I have quoted.

V. Jerome Benzo was born at Milan in the year 1519: his father, who was in low circumstances, having suffered by the wars then raging, sent him to seek his fortune through Italy, France, Spain, and Germany. The accounts he received of the newly-discovered world so captivated him, that he determined upon visiting it: for which purpose he went to Spain in 1541, embarked thence for America,

and remained there fourteen years. He returned, and published his History at Venice, in Italian, 1565, 4to., reprinted 1572, 8vo., and afterwards translated into Latin, French, German, and Flemish. In this book he adds, to his own adventures, the discoveries and conquests of the Spaniards during his residence in America, marking this distinction,—that, in relating circumstances which he did not witness, he professes to follow only the best authorities. This work is rendered doubly valuable by the impartiality with which the author, at the same time that he eulogises the constancy and courage of the Spaniards, gives a faithful picture of their cruelties, their avarice, and their excesses. Benzo professes this advantage over Las Casas: that, in exposing, as he does, their vices and passions, he has rendered impartial justice to the memory of the Spanish invaders, by recording their virtues also; and of all the rare qualities which must enter into the composition of an accurate historian, this balance between virtue and vice is doubtless the most difficult, and the most rare. Vrain Chauveton translated his work into French, in 1579; but the edition I have used is that of Urbanus Calveto, in Latin, 1581, 8vo.

VI. The famous history of Spanish tyranny, entitled, *Relacion de la Destruycion de las Indias occidentales por los Castilanos*, by Bartholomew de las Casas, was written for the purpose of describing the

misery and misfortunes of the Indians, and the fanaticism which depopulated America, rather than as an history of connected events. The Author, after having accompanied his father in the first voyage of Columbus, employed the greater part of his life in advocating the causes of the unhappy sufferers whom they had discovered, and whose peaceful repose they had so inhumanly broken. The name of Las Casas is, therefore, intimately connected with all the early acts and regulations of the Castilian conquerors. The inutility of his efforts, and the virulence of the persecutions which followed himself, induced him to embrace the Dominican habit; but the Court of Spain, not at first recognising the justness of the cause he pleaded, nor the benevolence of his intentions, forced upon him the bishopric of Chiapa, hoping thus to keep him in subservience. He, nevertheless, continued his charitable labours, until his infirmities obliged him to quit his new charge, in the year 1551.

His work contains the principal historical records during the space of fifty years subsequent to the discovery of America; while it possesses the rare merit of having been written by a man of undoubted benevolence and unshaken fidelity, who collected his materials from actual observation, and never lost sight of his generous object. The eulogiums passed upon it by the Protestants of his time had the effect of exciting suspicion and jealousy amongst the Catholics; yet Le Père de Charlevoix thus adds his

powerful testimony to its merit: "On ne peut disconvenir qu'il règne dans l'ouvrage de Las Casas un air de vivacité et exaggération qui prévient un peu contre lui, et que les faits qu'il rapporte, sans être altérés dans la substance, ont, sous sa plume, je ne sais quoi d'odieux et de criant, qu'il pouvoit peut-être adoucir. Il n'avoit pas assez fait réflexion qu'il ne suffit pas à un historien d'être véridique, et qu'il doit encore être extrèmement en garde contre ce que la prévention, la haine, l'intérêt, l'amitié, l'engagement, un zèle trop amer, ou trop ardent, peuvent donner de couleurs, ou étrangères ou trop vives, aux faits d'ailleurs les plus certains. Mais on peut bien assurer que le Saint Evêque de Chiapa, dont, malgré ces défauts, ou, pour parler plus juste, les excès de ses vertus, le nom est demeuré très respectable dans les annales du Nouveau Monde, et dans les histoires d'Espagne, ne prévoyoit pas les mauvais effets que son ouvrage produisit, peu d'années après sa publication, lorsqu'il eut été traduit par un Hollandois." The polite Father here adverts to the tenor of the work, and the barbarous facts it discloses; which had confirmed the inhabitants of the Low Countries in their rooted hatred of the Spanish name. Such testimony cannot, therefore, be suspected.

The life of Las Casas is so blended with the events of the times he lived in, that a brief memoir of him may elucidate many points in the following history. Born in the year 1474, of a very ancient family, in

Seville, at the age of nineteen he followed his father to the Indies, with Columbus. Upon his return to Spain in 1498, he resumed his theological studies, and added to it a thorough knowledge of the civil and canonical law. In due time he was admitted to holy orders, and went to Hispaniola, and from thence to Cuba, where he obtained the cure of Zaguarama. Soon, however, he quitted his preferment, to labour with more effect for the liberty of the Indians, whom he saw so inhumanly oppressed by his merciless countrymen; who, not content with having drenched the land with their blood, reduced the wretched remnant to the most cruel servitude upon their own soil, and covered their oppression with the cloak of religion. These numerous invading bands frequently met each other in the centre of the ruined provinces, and vied with each other in acts of cruelty and blood. The benevolent Las Casas, seeing that the only way to produce the effect he desired was to obtain emancipation from unjust and arbitrary slavery, with a rare zeal, employed fifty years of his life in the attainment of his object: yet he employed them not in taunting invective and groundless defamation; he did not set himself down in listless ease, to enjoy his fortune and appointments, nor allow himself to be actuated by party-spirit, or commercial speculation. He visited, and saw the actual state of those abuses which it was the labour of his life to counteract; he returned to Spain, and by the irresistible evidence of facts, so worked upon the sensibility, and roused the policy of

his monarch, that he carried back with him full powers for the investigation of the conduct of the different governors, under whose authority the abuse existed. Unfortunately, he found this power ineffectual for the suppression of the enormities daily committed; to restrain them as much as possible, however, he took the habit of the religious order of St. Dominic, and founded many establishments of it; which tended, in some degree, to meliorate the condition of the surrounding Indians. Not content with his personal labours in the cause of humanity, he again returned to Spain; and, by his unremitted remonstrances, obtained in the year 1542* the authority of express laws in favour of the objects of his solicitude: these the several governors were obliged to respect, and compelled to execute. This was a great point gained, though short of the object he pursued; and he met with all the opposition which personal interest, and political subtilty, could marshal to oppose his views. The court was at that time held at Valladolid—where Sepulveda, and some others, to their eternal disgrace, publicly maintained, in an express convocation, that there was no moral sin in subjecting to slavery an idolatrous people; an argument which Las Casas fairly beat to the ground, by the publication of various tracts, detailing the excesses of the Spaniards in the Indies. Broken with age, and fainting under the infirmities of a tropical distemper, he at length resigned the bishopric of Chiapa into the

* Benzo.

hands of the Pope, retired from the scene of his exertions, and died at Madrid in the year 1566, at the age of ninety-two.

Besides the works already named, he composed many which were never published; amongst others, a General History of the Indies, of which Herrera made use in compiling his own. The edition of Las Casas's work herein quoted, is that of Seville, 1552.

VII. FRANCIS LOPEZ DE GOMERA, another Spanish historian, (of whose work there is an ancient French edition by Martin Fumee,) has given a general history of the West Indies, in six books. He travelled through America to its southern extremity; and in his topographical descriptions, and measurement of distances, he may be consulted with confidence and success: but that correctness has lent to his work a greater reputation than, perhaps, it really deserves; for, in wishing to embrace too great a field, he often wanders from his subject, and falls into inextricable confusion; while, in abandoning the testimony, and disdaining the opinions of other writers, he forgets to explain the foundation of his own. No wonder, therefore, that his narrative has been discovered to be false, by the more enlightened travellers who succeeded him. Still there is much information to be gathered from his materials; and he treats of a most interesting period of the American history.—Antwerp edition, 8vo. 1554.

VIII. Joseph Acosta, a Spanish Jesuit of Medina del Campo, took the habit at Salamanca, and acquired great proficiency in almost every branch of science. After a long residence in Spain, he was employed in the West Indian missions, where he became a provincial of the various houses established in Peru. This employment was consonant with his zealous regard to the conversion of the Indians; and during seventeen years he laboured to accomplish it: then returning to Spain, he proceeded to Rome in furtherance of his object, and there published a treatise, *De Procurandâ Indorum Salute.* He also composed in Spanish, *L'Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Indes, tant Orientales qu'Occidentales,* which was translated into many languages, and into French by Regnauld: Paris, 1616. He was the author of many discourses, *De Naturâ Novi Orbis; De Temporibus Novissimis,* &c.: and after a life of usefulness and vigour, he died rector of the College of Salamanca, on the 15th of February, 1599, at the age of sixty years.

IX. Anthony Herrera Tordesillas was the son of Roderic de Tordesillas, and Agnes de Herrera, and bore his mother's name, as was the Spanish custom. He was well educated; and his first appointment was to the office of secretary to Vespasien de Gonzaque, viceroy of Navarre, and afterwards of Valence: upon whose death, Philip II. of Spain, aware of the merit of Herrera, nominated him Grand

Historiographer of the Indies, with a considerable pension. By Philip IV. he was made secretary of state; but ere he could enter upon the active duties of his high office, he died at an advanced age in the year 1625. Of his works we have the General History of the Indies in four volumes folio, entitled, *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castilanos en las Islas y Terra Fiermè del Mar Oceano*, with maps and geographical descriptions. The two first volumes comprehend events between the years 1492 and 1531; and the succeeding two carry down the history to the year 1554. Herrera composed various other historical works; but that on the Indies is the most esteemed, and has been translated into almost all the languages of Europe. His means of information were good, and though he relates nothing from actual experience, his narration is considered correct, and is quoted as authority by all writers upon the subject.

X. Thomas Gage, the English historian, whose work on the West Indies attracted the serious attention of Cromwell, and eventually led to the conquest of Jamaica, was lineally descended from Robert Gage, the third son of Sir John Gage, of Firle in Sussex, the governor of the Tower in the reign of Queen Mary, and who died in 1557. He was the son of John Gage of Hailing-house in Surry, and the brother of Colonel Gage the Royalist, "governor of Oxford, and Masse-founder of that famous

University," who was killed in the battle at Culham-bridge. His other brother, Colonel George Gage, was also a man of great celebrity in his time: he it was who so gallantly relieved Basing-house when it was besieged, on the 14th of September, 1644; and he had been employed as early as 1621, to negotiate the dispensation when the marriage was pending between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain. "The coming of Mr. Gage has given me infinite contentment." writes Padre Maestre at Rome, to the Spanish ambassador in England; "no man could have come hither that could better advance the business than he, as well in respect of his good affection, as for his wisdom and dexterity in all things."*

This historian, instead, therefore, of having been "a runagate priest," as he has been called, was a man who, by the repute of his connexions, and the accuracy of his observations, might be supposed to have considerable weight and interest in the councils of the Protector. He was educated in the Roman faith, in foreign universities, and entered into monastic orders; but refusing to subscribe to the rule of the Jesuits, at the positive desire of his father, he was disinherited by him, and expelled the family. His father left his property between a daughter and two sons, whom he had by a second marriage, and died before the subject of this memoir returned from

* Cabala—Mysteries of State, by a Noble Hand, p. 238.

his wanderings in America, whither he went, as he expresses it, "to abide till such time as death should surprise his angry father, Ignatius Loiola, his devoted Mecænas, and till he might there gain, out of Potosi, or Sacatecas, treasure that might counterpoise that child's part, which, for detesting the four-cornered cap and black coat of the Jesuits, his father had deprived him of." It appears that Thomas Gage had long entertained some scruples of conscience, with respect to his religion; and, certainly, the conduct of its professors in the new world did not tend to overcome the difficulty, or dispel the doubt. He sailed from Cadiz, attached to a mission of the Dominicans, destined to the Philippine islands, in the year 1625; and the course of the mission necessarily taking him to Mexico, for the purpose of embarking on the South Sea, he there heard such a disgusting account of the depraved and wretched condition of the missionaries in those islands, that he determined upon abandoning his undertaking: being refused permission to do so, by his commissary, Friar Calvo, he deserted the company, and travelled through Chiapa, and Guatemala, dissembling his religious doubts, and amassing, by the usual means of papal extortion, a large sum of money. With this, the fruits of his religious impositions on the Indians, he determined on returning to England "to satisfy his conscience;" and after various unlucky adventures, he reached his native land in 1638. He then went to Rome, to satisfy his doubts on some

points of doctrine; and there, distracted by the sophisms and subtilties of the Roman church, he trusted the establishment of his wavering faith to an experiment, which is too characteristic of those times to be passed over in silence:—

"I bethought myself further," says he, "that I would try one way, which was to see if I could find out a miracle which might give mee the better satisfaction of the Romish religion than had the former experience of my life, and the lives of the priests, cardinals, and all such with whom I had lived in Spain and America. I had heard much of a picture of our Lady of Loretto, and read in a book of miracles, or lies, concerning the same, that whosoever prayed before that Picture, in the state of mortall sinne, the Picture would discover the sinne of the soule, by blushing, and by sweating. Now, I framed this argument to myself, that it was a great sinne, the sinne of unbeliefe; or to waver and stagger in points of faith: but in mee, according to the tenents of Rome, was the sinne; for I would not believe the point of Transubstantiation, and many others; therefore, if the miracles which were printed of the aforesaid Lady of Loretto were true, and not lies, certainly shee would blush and sweat when such an unbeliever as I prayed before her. To make this triall, I went purposely to Loretto; and kneeling down before God, not with any faith in the Picture, I prayed earnestly to the true Searcher of hearts, that, in his Son Jesus Christ, he would mercifully

look upon me, a wretched sinner; and inspire, and enlighten, mee with his Spirit of truth, for the good and salvation of my soule. In my prayers I had a fixed and settled eye upon the Lady's picture, but could not perceive that she did either sweat or blush: wherewith I arose up from my knees most comforted, and encouraged in my resolution to renounce and abandon Popery; and saying within myself, as I went out of the church, Surely if my Lady neither sweat nor blush, all is well with me, and I am in a good way for salvation; and the miracles written of her are all lies. With this I resolved to follow the truth in some Protestant church in France, and to relinquish error and superstition*."

Trusting, however, to the protection of the Parliament, he returned to England in the autumn of 1640, and was ordered by the Bishop of London to preach his recantation sermon in St. Paul's; in which he alluded to a circumstance that, he says, struck him with such force, that he desired publicly to record it as a main argument in support of his rational conversion. This circumstance is detailed at length in the 197th page of his work, and was no other than, that one day, as he said mass at Porto Bello, a mouse stole away "the wafer-god of the Papists," committing the larceny while he was praying with his eyes shut. This convinced him "that bread really and truly was eaten upon that altar; and by no means Christ's glorious body, which can

* *Survey*, p. 210.

not be subject to the hunger and violence of a creature."

Soon after his recantation, the Parliament presented him to the benefice of Acryse, in Kent, a rectory now in the gift of the Crown. His brother, the Colonel, continued his efforts to restore him to his lost faith; but, finding persuasion ineffectual, he, in the spirit of that merciless fanaticism which is characteristic of the church of Rome, actually sent an officer of his own regiment to assassinate him. His intended victim, however, escaped the snare; and, in 1648, published his book, *The English-American his Travail by Sea and Land, or a Survey of the West Indies;* and dedicated it to Sir Thomas Fairfax. This work excited great animosity, yet met with much encouragement; for its author was the first foreigner who had, from experience, described a country barred against all strangers. For that reason M. Colbert ordered it to be translated into French, by Beaulieu. Thuvenot also translated it in the second volume of his Collection; with an History of the Mexicans, in hieroglyphics, copied from Gage's MSS. The means which Gage possessed of acquiring information, and the internal proofs of accuracy and observation, which his work everywhere bears, render his Survey worthy of implicit credit. He is stigmatised by Labat for his apostacy, and the ample disclosure he makes of papistical fooleries; yet even that prejudiced histo-

rian gives him full credit as an author, and acknowledges the accuracy of his details as a traveller.*

Having drawn the attention of Cromwell to these islands, he left his retirement to embark with Penn and Venables; and died in Jamaica, a few months after its conquest.

His recantation sermon was published in London, 1642, quarto; and in 1651 he wrote *A Duel between a Jesuit and a Dominican, begun at Paris, fought at Madrid, and ended at London;* 4to.

XI. The conquest of Mexico by ANTONIO DE SOLIS, although composed from anterior publications, is one of great credit and reputation; as are also the works of Corneille Wytfleet, Jean de Laet, Ogilby, and Torquemada.

XII. ROCHEFORT, who wrote an history of the Antilles, was chaplain to Le Vasseur, the treacherous governor of Tortuga, in the year 1643. This work is filled with exaggerations and romantic anecdotes, by a man who proves himself to be neither a naturalist, an accurate observer, nor a classical scholar.

XIII. Dr. THOMAS TRAPHAM was physician to Lord Vaughan, with whom he came to Jamaica in 1676, and soon afterwards published *A Discourse on*

* Hist. Gén. des Voyages, par M. l'Abbé Prevost, tom. xviii. Labat, tom. ii. p. 332.

the State of Health in this island: London, 1679. 12mo. pp. 149. In 1677, he was elected a member of Assembly for the parish of St. Mary. He assisted Sir Hans Sloane in his professional attendance upon the Duke of Albemarle, and, upon the decease of that nobleman, in 1688, he insinuated a groundless suspicion, that his grace had died by poison. In 1694, he was elected member for St. Thomas' in the East, and continued to take an active part in the business of the country, till the year 1702, when his ill-health obliged him to quit the island, to which he never returned; neither did he publish his *more copious History*, to redeem the pledge he quaintly gives, of "a more retired inquisition, when the desirable country shall be my chief study."

XIV. LIONEL WAFFER, an English traveller, was in Jamaica about the year 1677, and was considered an accurate observer. He afterwards visited various other parts of Spanish-America, and embellished the work he published with some tolerable delineations of fruits and animals. In 1706 it was translated into French by Montreal; and an excellent edition was published by Cellier; Paris. 12mo.

XV. Dr. BARHAM cultivated the science of natural philosophy in Jamaica, about the same period. His observations are confidently quoted by various authors; and his MSS. were collected and published in 1793, by Mr. Aikman.

XVI. Sir HANS SLOANE embarked for Jamaica, as physician to the Duke of Albemarle, in September, 1687, and in the twenty-eighth year of his age. His patron dying in the following year, he had only the short space of fifteen months to make his researches in; yet, so well did he apply his time, and such was his diligence in his favourite pursuit, that he had already formed a collection of more than eight hundred different plants. He was the first man of practical learning whom the love of science had led from the British shores to visit these tropical regions. A virgin field was therefore open to one who possessed the enthusiasm of a lover towards his object; and it was at an age when activity of body combined with ardour of mind to overcome all difficulties. Under this happy coincidence of circumstances, it is not surprising that he should return to England with the fruits of a rich harvest. A considerable time, however, elapsed before he gave to the world his Prodromo to the History of Jamaica plants, under the title of *Catalogus Plantarum quæ in insulâ Jamaicâ sponte proveniunt.* 8vo. But this volume, intrinsically valuable as it is, is only the systematic index to the work he published in 1707: his *Voyage to the Islands of Madeira, Barbados, Nevis, St. Christopher, and Jamaica.* The second volume was not printed until the year 1725; in it, the plates are continued to the number of two hundred and seventy-four.

This publication contributed much to the extension

of science, by exciting a spirit of emulation, both in Britain and on the continent. Upon the accession of George I., he was created a baronet; and was the first English physician-general to the army. He was also President of the Royal Society and College of Physicians; but his declining health compelled him to resign these honours, and he died at Chelsea, on the 11th of January, 1752, at the age of ninety years. His magnificent cabinet of natural curiosities was purchased by Parliament, for the British Museum, at the price of twenty thousand pounds. This celebrated naturalist, during his stay in Jamaica, resided in the old Spanish-fronted building still visible in the lane at the back of the king's house in St. Jago de la Vega; where, not long since, some of his etchings were discovered in a ruined out-house.

XVII. PATRICK BROWN, M.D., was born at Woodstock, in the parish of Crosboyne, county of Mayo, in the year 1720; and after receiving the best education his country could afford, he was sent to Antigua, in 1737; but, the climate disagreeing with his constitution, he travelled through France and Holland; where he formed an intimate friendship with Linnæus and Gronovius. He then practised as a physician in London, and afterwards came out to Jamaica, where he collected and preserved specimens of birds, plants, and shells. Having chosen Kingston for his residence, it was by his advice that

the governor was persuaded to represent to Earl Granville the expediency of making that town the capital of the island; whence originated those dissensions which long afterwards agitated the colony. He was a sound mathematician and a good astronomer. He collected materials for a map of Jamaica, which was published in London in 1755, engraved by Dr. Bayly. Soon after this he published, by subscription, his *Civil and Natural History of Jamaica*, folio, illustrated by forty-nine engravings. There were but two hundred and fifty copies printed; and the plates, with the original drawings, were unfortunately destroyed by the fire on Cornhill, in 1765; an accident which prevented the appearance of a second edition, for which he had prepared copious materials during his subsequent visits to these islands. He died in 1790.

XVIII. OLDMIXON was the author of an anonymous publication, entitled *The British Empire in America*, 2 vols., 8vo., 1708.

XIX. Dr. ANTHONY ROBINSON formed a collection of several hundred figures and descriptions of Jamaica plants and animals; correcting the errors of Sloane and Brown, and supplying their deficiencies; but he died before it could be digested into a regular series for publication. He invented a vegetable soap, for which he obtained a premium of a thousand pounds sterling from the House of Assembly; and

prepared the sago and tapioca from that species of palm which is commonly used only as thatch. His MSS. are now in the possession of Mr. Aikman, whose library, indeed, comprehends almost all that is rare and valuable in West-Indian history.

XX. EDWARD LONG, the historian of Jamaica, was the descendant of Colonel Samuel Long, who came here as a lieutenant in Colonel D'Oyley's regiment, and secretary to the expedition in 1655; and who afterwards delivered the island from the thraldom of that constitution which Lord Carlisle was sent hither to enforce.

The subject of this memoir was the fourth son of Samuel Long, of Tredudwell, in the county of Cornwall, by his wife Mary, the second daughter of Bartholomew Tate, of Delassré, in Northamptonshire. He was born on the 23d of August, 1734; entered Gray's Inn in 1752; and his father dying in this island five years afterwards, he filled the situation of private-secretary to his brother-in-law, Sir Henry Moore, the lieutenant-governor of Jamaica. He afterwards held the appointment of judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court here; and, in 1758, married Mary, the second daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Beckford. Eleven years afterwards he quitted Jamaica, and devoted himself to literary pursuits, particularly to the completion of his *History of Jamaica*, which he published in 1774, in 3 vols., 4to. His high station in the island afforded him

every opportunity of procuring authentic materials, which he compiled with ingenuity, and digested with candour, although, in some instances, with a little too much haste. He was aware, however, of the imperfections of his work, and had been preparing a new edition at the time of his death, which happened in 1813, at Arundel Park, in Sussex.

Besides the *History of Jamaica*, Mr. Long published various other works, particularly the *Reflections on the Sugar-Cane*, 1772, 8vo. *Letters on the Colonies*, 1775, 8vo. *The Sugar Trade*, 1782, 8vo. In early life he had written *The Prater, by Nicholas Babble, Esq.*; and *The Triall of Farmer Carter's Dog Porter, for Murder*, 1771, 8vo.

XXI. The ABBÉ RAYNAL compiled his work on the Indies during the reign of Louis XVI., and published it about the year 1770, in seven vols. 8vo., under the title of *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Etablissements et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*. It was received with great applause at the time, and rapidly went through several editions; but experience has deprived the Abbé of all credit. He never visited the regions he so confidently treats of; was careless, and credulous, in his researches; and no better, in fact, than an indifferent editor of the ideas of others. The historian of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, who met the Abbé in their mutual retreat at Lausanne, observed, that in his conversation, which might be very agree-

able, he was intolerably loud, peremptory, and insolent; and you would imagine that he alone was the monarch and legislator of the world. Such is his work on the Indies; and it is, therefore, seldom read, or consulted, otherwise than as a dictionary of local situations.

XXII. M. De Pauw was the author of an anonymous work, entitled, *Recherches Philosophiques, sur les Américains*, written in the French style of levity and shallow fluency. It passed through several editions about the year 1770. An appearance of philosophy, with real ignorance of his subject; thoughts trivial, or false; affectation of style, exaggeration, and vulgarity of description;—such is the work of M. de Pauw. It was judiciously, and deservedly, attacked by the Abbé de Brügel, in his *Dissertation sur l'Amérique et les Américains*. M. de Pauw published a defence, in a third volume; and attempted, but unsuccessfully, to overwhelm his antagonist by the flippancy and the impudence of his assertions.

XXIII. Bryan Edwards was born in the year 1743, at Westbury, in Wiltshire—the eldest son of a respectable maltster—who, dying when the historian was thirteen years of age, left a widow, and six children, in distressed circumstances. She had, however, two opulent brothers in the West Indies; one of whom was Zachary Bayley, of this island, who

took the family under his protection, and educated Edwards. In 1759 he came out to Jamaica; where Mr. Teale, a clergyman, was employed in supplying his deficiency in the learned languages. In the course of a few years, the death of his uncle, and of his relation Mr. Hume, put him in possession of a considerable fortune, which enabled him to return to England; and in 1796, he took his seat in Parliament for the borough of Grampound, which he continued to represent until his death, on the 15th July, 1800.

His first publication was a pamphlet, entitled, *Thoughts on the Proceedings of Government respecting the Trade to the West India Islands with the United States of America,* 1784. This was followed by a speech delivered at a free conference between the council and assembly of Jamaica, held on 23rd November, 1789, on the subject of Mr. Wilberforce's propositions in the House of Commons concerning the Slave Trade. But his most distinguished work is his *History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies,* 1793; 3 vols. 4to., which has been continued to a later period, by an anonymous writer, evidently no great friend to their prosperity.

XXIV. R. C. DALLAS, the Novelist, published the *History of the Maroons, from their Origin to the Establishment of their Chief Tribe at Sierra Leone, including the Expedition to Cuba, for the purpose of*

procuring Chasseurs, and the State of the Island of Jamaica, 1803; 2 vols. 8vo.,—a work very inaccurate in many of its details, and entertaining rather as a novel than as a genuine history.

XXV. The classical pages of ROBERTSON it may be considered profaneness to impugn; yet, having never visited the Western hemisphere, his work would have been more consistent with his general character, as an historian, had he delivered his sentiments with less confidence, and not vainly attempted to palliate the enormities of the conquering Spaniards by the tender expressions he applies to them. Many of his opinions need, however, no other refutation, than may be found in the subsequent pages of his History; for which work, published in 1775, the learned author received no less a sum than four thousand five hundred pounds*.

XXVI. *A New History of Jamaica, from the Earliest Accounts to the Taking of Porto Bello,* was published in the year 1740, in the form of thirteen letters from a gentleman to his friend,—a work pirated from *A New and Accurate Account of Jamaica,* written by Charles Leslie. It contains much curious information.

XXVII. *An History of the Caribby Islands, with a Vocabulary, translated from a French Work,*

* See Note I.

edited by various Literary Characters in Paris, by Jno. Davies, of Kidwelly, 4to., 1 Vol., 1666, is little better than a compilation from the work of Father Raymond.

XXVIII. *The Buccaniers of America; or, a True Account of the most remarkable Assaults committed of late years upon the Coasts of the West Indies, by the Buccaniers of Jamaica and Tortuga, both English and French; where are contained, more especially, the unparalleled Exploits of Sir Henry Morgan,* was written originally in Dutch, by JOHN ESQUEMELING, one of the Buccaniers. 1 vol. 4to. 1684.

XXIX. *The West-India Common-place Book, compiled from Parliamentary and Official Documents; showing the Interest of Great Britain in its Sugar Colonies, by Sir Wm. Young,* appeared in the year 1807; a work worthy of the name of its distinguished author.

XXX. A GENTLEMAN, long resident in the West Indies, published, in the year 1808, *An Account of Jamaica, and its Inhabitants;* a book teeming with inaccuracies, which the author has not corrected in his late work entitled *The Past and Present State of Jamaica;* to which he has prefixed his name—J. STEWART.

As tending to illustrate the following pages, a statement of the extent, proprietary, and population, of the Charaibbean Archipelago may not be here misplaced.

Islands.	Square miles.	Whites.	Malattos, and Blacks.	Total Population.	To whom belonging.
Cuba	54,000	234,000	198,000	432,000	Spain.
Hispaniola	30,000	30,000	500,000	530,000	Partly to Spain: partly independ.
Jamaica	6,400	30,000	330,000	360,000	Britain.
Porto-Rico	4,140	80,000	30,000	100,000	Spain.
The Bahamas.	5,500	3,923	11,396	14,318	Britain.
St. Thomas's	40	550	4,530	5,050	Denmark.
St. John's	40	180	2,250	2,430	Denmark.
Santa Cruz	100	2,223	29,164	31,387	Denmark.
Tortola	90	...	...	10,000	Britain.
Virgin Gorda	80	1,500	6,500	8,000	Britain.
Anguilla	30	...	...	800	Britain.
St. Martin	90	...	...	6,100	Netherlands.
St. Bartholom.	60	4,000	4,000	8,000	Sweden.
Saba	10	...	...	1,600	Netherlands.
Barbuda	90	...	...	1,500	Britain.
St. Eustacia	22	5,000	15,000	20,000	Netherlands.
St. Christopher	70	4,000	21,000	25,000	Britain.
Nevis	20	1,000	10,000	11,000	Britain.
Antigua	93	2,102	33,637	35,739	Britain.
Montserrat	78	1,000	9,730	10,730	Britain.
Guadaloupe	675	12,745	102,092	114,839	France.
Deseada	25	300	600	900	France.
Mariegalante	90	1,938	10,347	12,385	France.
Dominica	29	1,594	24,905	26,499	Britain.
Martinique	370	9,206	87,207	96,413	France.
St. Lucia	225	1,290	15,350	16,640	France.
St. Vincent's	131	1,350	22,550	24,000	Partly to Brit.: partly independ.
Barbadoes	166	16,289	65,650	81,939	Britain.
Grenada	109	771	30,591	31,362	Britain.
Tobago	140	900	15,483	16,483	Britain.
Trinidad	1,700	2,261	24,984	28,477	Britain.
Margaritta	364	5,500	6,500	14,000	Caraccas.
Curaçoa	600	1,200	7,300	8,500	Netherlands.
	105,000	450,000	1,600,000	2,050,000	

Chapter I.

FORMATION OF THE CHARAIBBEAN ARCHIPELAGO.

When the Spirit of God called forth the earth from chaos, the earliest separations from the confused mass of unorganised matter formed a class of rocks which are still discoverable in its crust, and are therefore termed *primitive*. The emanations of their strata, being generally superior to those of all other classes, bear ample testimony to their remote antiquity. Having been formed in the unproductive state of the earth, these granites contain neither petrifactions nor mechanical deposits; but are found pure and unmixed, originating from the wonderful chemistry of nature. When land appeared, or during the transition of the earth from its chaotic to its habitable state, *transition* rocks were formed; chemical productions also, but mingled with a small proportion of mechanical deposition: for now the summits of the primitive mountains just appeared above the waters, the attrition of whose turbulent waves wore off, and deposited, particles of their original mass. As the level of the sea subsided, so did the surface on which its waves acted increase; and with it, the quantity of mechanical deposition. Hence these depositions are still more abundant in the rocks of the next formation, which are denomi-

nated *flœtz*, as being generally formed in horizontal, or flat, strata; and, having been deposited after the creation of animals and vegetables, petrifactions are abundant in them all. Countries composed of these rocks are therefore not so rugged, nor so marked by rapid inequalities, as those in which the primitive and transition rocks predominate; and from various appearances in them there seems reason to conclude, that the waters in which they were formed, had risen with great rapidity, and, falling gradually, had afterwards subsided into a state of almost stagnant tranquillity. Their chief formation may, therefore, be referred to the Deluge.

To form, however, an accurate idea of the surface of our globe in its present state, we must imagine that the ocean has its correspondent marine hills, and vallies, and plains; and that the mountains, of which the isles, rocks, and shoals are the exposed summits, are so situated as that the invisible chains which they form are but the prolongations of the terrestrial mountains. At the time when Divine Justice, satisfied with the sacrifice of an impious race, recalled the waters which had been the tremendous instrument of its vengeance, the points of the highest mountains, such as Ararat and the Andes, were the first which appeared above the surface of the flood; forming a small number of islands, then alone constituting the whole habitable earth. Presently, however, the inundation, gradually decreasing, discovered other mountains less elevated; which

appeared as a few scattered islands dotted over the vast bosom of the deep. The diminution of the floods continuing, the elevated *crêtes*, or crests, which united these isles, began to appear: the lofty plains of Quito and Mexico, formed by a plateau of mountains, next disclosed themselves, and were soon followed by the less elevated plains, as they now appear in the four quarters of the world.

It is evident, if it had pleased the Divine Power further to reduce the level of the waters, that other lands would have discovered themselves: so that, in fact, the depths of the ocean would have appeared as one vast valley; the present continents as raised plains; the islands as the pointed summits of the mountains, and all united, either by the continuity of the vallies, or by the summits of those hills which, in the actual state of the ocean, are now covered by its waters. The direction of all the islands, rocks, and shoals, which traverse the seas, and which unite the series of terrestrial mountains, the soundings of navigators, and their observations on the course of currents, are incontestable proofs of this integral and original arrangement of nature. They give rise to two incontrovertible positions: first, that the globe is formed of, and sustained by, numerous chains of mountains, which are continued through the seas from their apparent courses upon the earth; and serve as skeletons to augment the solidity of the sphere: secondly, that these submarine mountains actually, though invisibly, divide the seas into sepa-

rate basins, which appear united only because the barriers which inclose them are themselves, for the most part, covered by its waves, but which present a providential obstacle to the otherwise uncontrolled movement of the mighty mass of fluctuating waters.

These basins, or marine vallies, are of various depths: as, for example, the arm of the sea which separates England from France is not so deep as the Atlantic; and, if the waters were to subside only twenty-five fathoms, they would lay bare the crest of the mountain which joins Dover to Calais, which ceases only to be an isthmus because it is submarine. Were they to subside yet a little more, the Isle of Wight would become a mountain, separated from the coast of Hampshire by a dry valley: and did they sink sixty fathoms, England itself would become one vast mountain separated by a deep vale from Normandy, and connected to Flanders by the crest between Dover and Calais: while the mouth of the British channel, between the Scilly Isles and Ushant, would become the barrier to the Atlantic.

The Gulph of Mexico is one of the minor divisions of these vast marine basins into which the whole ocean is thus divided by its submersed mountains. As in the above example, if its waters were to subside about eighty fathoms, the chain of the Antilles would become the boundary of its floods, and present a barrier of lofty mountains inclosing a vast valley, and continuing the terrestrial series, from the Caraccas to East Florida: while amongst the loftiest summits of

this chain would appear the Blue Mountains of Jamaica.

The Almighty was, however, pleased to stay the recession of the flood at that elevation which leaves the habitable earth as it now appears; except in as far as it has been subject to the subsequent effects of storms and earthquakes. What the world was before the flood, we have little means of ascertaining: earthquakes no doubt accompanied that tremendous revolution, and have left in Jamaica, and on every island in the bosom of the deep, some extraordinary record of their powers. It was at that age of the world, probably, that England was torn from France; Sicily from Italy; Cyprus from Syria; Eubœa from Bœotia*; and the Antilles from America. Strabo refers the straits of the Euxine and Mediterranean seas to the same cause. The Cape de Verd islands, the Azores, Madeira, and the Canaries, bear internal evidence of having formed constituent parts of their neighbouring continental lands, or of some other regions now perhaps sunk in the ocean. The observations of modern navigators tend to prove that the islands of the South Sea have been disunited from one mass. New Zealand, the largest of them, is filled with mountains, where are yet visible the undoubted traces of extinct volcanoes; its inhabitants are a different race from those of America; and, although at the distance of six hundred and eighty leagues, they speak the same language as those of

* Pliny, l. 2. c. 88, et seq.

Otaheite. The Straits of Magellan also appear to have been formed by the disunion of that part of the continent.

The characteristic appearances which attest these mighty changes are of a nature which cannot be mistaken. The shells of every species, some, at this age of the world, unknown; the corals; the beds of oysters; the sea-fish entire, or mutilated, yet buried in regular strata throughout all the countries of the world, in places far removed from the sea, at the heart, or in the surface of mountains *; the instability of the earth, still continually beaten, sapped and fretted by the ocean, losing ground in one part while it gains it proportionably in another; the sandy plains now spread before cities which are recorded as having been celebrated havens †; the horizontal and parallel layers of earth, and marine productions, alternately bedded in uniform order, and composed of the same materials; the correspondence between the riven cliffs divided by the sea; the formation, and relative continuity of hills and vallies, where an overwhelming ocean has left an eternal testimony of its fluctuation, all tell us that the waters have overstepped their natural boundaries, or, more properly speaking, have never been assigned any by their great Creator. We are assured that, as His mighty agent, they still continue to dispose of the earth at his will and pleasure, contracting or enlarging the

* Ray's Travels in the Netherlands, p. 114.

† See Note II.

boundaries of man, to fulfil the inscrutable designs of his creation *.

Thus, whatever may have been the various obscure causes of these general or partial appearances; whether they may be referred to the period of the Deluge, or to some local revolutions of nature, which may have happened at later periods, the effects are still the same, and may be traced to the prominent features of every country. They are particularly observable amongst the Antilles, where violent concussions are ever felt when the tremendous volcanoes of the Cordilleras rage, a circumstance bearing powerful testimony to the accurate observations of Humboldt, "who imagines that unquenchable fires are burning beneath these tropical seas, connected in the cavernous bowels of the earth with the numerous volcanoes on the continent. Some of the largest volcanoes which we know of are in the neighbouring continental territories: five of them are now burning, Popocatepell, Orizaba, Jorullo, Colima, and Tustla; and the most tremendous earthquakes which ever shook the globe, have occurred in the cities of Cumana, Riobamba, Guatimala, and Lima."' Not half a century ago, the volcano Jorullo burst, and was immediately surrounded by an innumerable multitude of smoking hills; since which period subterraneous noises have been constantly heard at Guanaxuato, and its neighbourhood. And who can doubt but that, had the volcano Jorullo burst beneath the

* See Note III.

ocean; instead of the earth, the same smoking hills would have arisen therein, and formed a cluster of islands, each similar to Jamaica, with its hot springs, porous rocks, and crustaceous surface?. By the eruption of such imprisoned fires, when the waters of the Deluge flowed in upon them, the Charaibbean Archipelago was probably torn from its adjacent lands, crumbled into islands, and its inclosed valley overwhelmed by the bubbling tide.

Many minor revolutions and volcanic convulsions have, however, changed the face of these islands since the days of Noah; earthquakes have shaken them to their very foundations, tropical floods have swept away their outlines, leaving them the sport of hurricanes, and the but of waves. They will remain the shattered monuments of miraculous fury, until the eternal fires which still rage beneath shall have recruited strength sufficient to rend asunder their mighty caverns, and produce another stupendous change.

During the memorable earthquake which happened in Jamaica in the year 1692, the convulsions were observed to continue longer, and were more sensibly felt, on the mountains than on the plains, and the former, in some instances, bore evident marks of depression in their height, while numerous huge masses of disjointed rock, with many a yawning chasm and mural precipice, which we are now apt to consider as coeval with the Deluge, perpetuate the memory of that tremendous explosion*. In the

* See Note IV.

island of Nevis, which consists but of a single mountain, gently rising from the bosom of the deep, there are traces of a volcano; and on its summit the crater is still visible, while hot sulphureous springs, with sulphur itself in substance, are found in the neighbouring clefts and chasms. At both ends of the Blue Mountain chain of Jamaica are also to be discovered the traces of extinct volcanoes, and a hot sulphureous spring rises near the highest summit. The longitudinal direction of this elevated ridge, and that, indeed, of all the mountains with which the Antilles are covered, corresponds with that which the islands relatively preserve amongst themselves. This connected uniformity is so regular, that, in considering only the summits of the mountains, without any reference to their bases, they form, as before observed, a regular chain, dependent on the continent, at Caraccas and at East Florida; while it is further remarkable that, in the Windward Islands, all the springs and rivulets which flow from this chain, fall on their western sides.

We need not go far from home, however, nor resort to remote ages, for a proof of the vast changes which earthquakes, or the more silent sappings of the ocean, have effected: well-attested instances of which are beneath our notice at St. Omers, Old Romney in Kent, and Rye in Sussex†.

The Isle of Wight was probably divided from

* Dugdale's "History of Draining," p. 173.

Hampshire by an inroad of the sea, long since the Deluge: yet the most remote historians make no further mention of the actual occurrence than this: "Nomen enim hoc insulæ ab antiquis Britannis multis ante seculis, quam Getæ, sive Vitæ, (si lubeat sic vocare) illuc accesserint datum est; qui illam GUYTH nominârunt, quod divortium significat, quia ex maris eruptione à continente divulsa sit cujus olim (ut antiqui tradunt) pars erat" *. If, then, in such places as have been long beneath our observation, the most obvious mutations have been effected, while yet the time or circumstance of them is utterly lost, much more may similar, or even greater, revolutions have occurred, without record, in the unknown, remote, and vast marine tracts of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and yet have been posterior to the Deluge.

Besides the foregoing arguments, which support the assumption that Jamaica, and the larger islands of the Antilles, though detached from the continent upwards of four thousand years ago, have since undergone very many and mighty revolutions, other evidence of a different nature may be adduced. For instance, the islands of Tobago, Marguerita, and Trinidad spontaneously produce the same species of vegetation as characterises the continent to which they are contiguous; while such plants are not to be found, at least not in native abundance, in the islands

* Sherringham, "De Angl. Gentis Origine," p. 42, edit. Cantab. 1670.

which compose the other extremity of the chain, as Jamaica, Hispaniola, and Cuba. These afford nearly the same productions as Florida, whence they seem more immediately to have been detached. The difference of climate produces, no doubt, the difference of vegetation between the two extremities of the insular chain; and the like gradation of dissimilitude is equally observable between the two corresponding latitudes on the adjacent continent. Acosta also observes of the Antilles, that "Quoyqu'elles fussent fertiles, et de grande étendue, il n'y avoit aucune sorte d'animaux de service quand les Espagnols y arrivèrent." This curious fact can be accounted for only by supposing that the revolution of nature, which detached the Antilles, occurred at the period of the Deluge, which convulsion cut off terrestrial animals, and precluded the possibility of their natural return there. That these islands had previously possessed their share, is proved by the fossile bones still frequently discovered.

Besides the fact that volcanic remains are distinctly to be traced in the island of Jamaica, the general outline and prominent features of the country bear evident marks of convulsive violence, in that abrupt irregularity which meets the eye, in the shape of fissured cliffs, mural precipices, cavernous pits, and rocky vallies, phenomena which the dynamic effect of the distribution of the floods during the Deluge, or the gradual subsidation of its waters, could not alone have caused.

Primitive rock, the naked skeleton of the globe, is here rarely to be met with; but in all stages of the mountains are discoverable vast disjointed fragments of transition rock, filled with corallites, rudely thrown together, or buried in alluvial matter, yet without preserving that order or those strata, in which the gradual recession, or the simple evaporation, of the floods could possibly have left them.

If the lower regions, clefts, and chasms, through a more regular stratum of flœtz rock, are found, and a softer species of limestone, containing the remains of shells and fishes; while the characteristic outline of the island presents the irregularity of knocks, or insulated hills, disjointed vallies, hollow unconnected dells, deep cock-pits, and rocky sink-holes. These plainly demonstrate, that the water which once assisted in forming them, could only have been drained off by subterraneous channels, opened, during their submersion, by volcanic explosions. Such mighty convulsions must have shaken the globe during the Deluge, when "the fountains of the deep were broken up," and the waters, rushing in upon the fiery bowels of the earth, would doubtless have raised a vapour, whose unbounded powers might rend asunder the very globe itself. In this part of the world, the very seat and centre of contending elements, such accidents may have occurred beneath the waves, even since that miraculous event, and caused many of those abrupt crags and clefts which are now so observable in Jamaica. Those stupend-

ous fragments of disjointed rock, which are never found but on the superficies of disturbed strata, except, indeed, where they may have rolled from an adjacent mountain, afford a strong argument in favour of the supposition that they were ejected from beneath since the Deluge. At that period they must have been deposited with other transition rocks below, but some bursting volcano may have subsequently dislodged and projected them so far as to have broken up the superincumbent alluvial strata, on whose surface they are now left resting.

If the several facts and observations which are thus thrown together blend themselves into a consistent and natural system, they form no weak argument in favour of the hypothesis that (although natural causes and the influence of those combustible materials with which the earth in these regions is charged, have since effected great changes, and left this archipelago in that disordered state, which is the peculiar characteristic of volcanic violence) the period of the great convulsion which tore the Antilles from the adjacent continent, and formed their earliest features, must be referred to the Deluge, when the face of the whole earth underwent a mighty and miraculous revolution.

> ——— laticum concussa lacunas
> Pandit hians tellus, et fontibus ora relaxat:
> Succutiturque pavens, et fundamenta revelat
> Et reserat chaos. Æterni sic vox tonat oris,
> Sic formidandæ gravè spiritus infremit iræ.
>
> BUCHANAN, *Paraph. Psalm.* 18. p. 21.

Chapter II.

POPULATION OF AMERICA.

How the fourth quarter of the globe was supplied with inhabitants is a question which has puzzled mankind ever since its discovery. Some have ventured to apply the dream of Esdras to the origin of the American population, but it is as easy to conceive that it received its inhabitants, as all the rest of the world did, direct from Eden. Reason and Religion teach us that we are all descended from a common parent. That parent received an order from Heaven to people the earth; and the earth *was* peopled: it became necessary to overcome difficulties; and they *were* overcome. The Omnipotent Being who created man could doubtless furnish him with the means of fulfilling the purposes of his creation. Was it more easy for mankind to transport themselves from the extremities of Asia, of Africa, and of Europe, to the distant islands of the Southern and Pacific Oceans, than to pass from thence to America? Certainly not. Navigation, though apparently brought to perfection within the last few years, was probably as perfect in former ages: at any rate we cannot doubt but that it was advanced far enough to answer the purposes of the Almighty in furnishing the earth with those beings

for whom it was created. If it be not evident that there *is* any land-communication between the Old and New Worlds, yet the contrary has not been proved. Besides the passage is neither long, nor difficult, from Africa to Brazil; from the Canaries to the Azores, or from the Azores to the Antilles. We are not surprised at finding inhabitants on islands, equally distant from the shores of Asia; why then should it excite our astonishment to find them in America?

It cannot be supposed that the children of Noah, when they found themselves obliged to separate, in order to fulfil the designs of their Creator, should be excluded from one entire quarter of the globe. Nor is it impossible that Noah himself, who lived three hundred and fifty years after the Deluge, should have undertaken the re-establishment of America. It is not probable that he would remain so many subsequent years without performing great exploits, and undertaking noble enterprises. He, the inspired and experienced navigator, could he not build another ship, his own remaining fast on the mountains of Ararat, to repair the desolation of the earth? He who possessed a knowledge of a thousand things we are yet unacquainted with, by the tradition of sciences with which our first father was inspired, and whose children he had conversed with, could he be ignorant of these western lands, in which it is even possible that himself might have been born? It cannot be imagined that the artisan of the largest

ship the world ever saw, a ship destined to float upon a boundless ocean, agitated by an overwhelming and miraculous tempest, would have been unable to communicate to his children the art of navigation upon a sea reduced within its natural limits, comparatively tranquil, safe, and narrow. We must rather believe that he possessed means of fulfilling the decrees of Him who had especially elected him for the purpose of regenerating the race of man.

Accordingly we read that Jacob, who died about two hundred and fifty years after Noah, speaks of ships, and havens for shipping, as things already well known: particularly Zidon, where Zebulon's lot was to be cast. In the days of Moses, Balaam mentions the ships of Greece and Chittim. In the reign of Solomon, the Tyrians are noticed as expert seamen: and Solomon himself had a fleet upon the Red Sea, which pursued its annual course to Ophir and Tarshish—ports, most probably, in the East Indies *. Combining the testimony of sacred and profane authors, it is probable that the Egyptians possessed fleets, even before the reign of Solomon.

Moses tells us that *all* the lands and islands were peopled; it is not likely therefore that the children of Noah knew only one half of the world.

Eudoxus, during the reign of Claudius, sailed from Egypt; and though the report of Cornelius Nepos, that he circumnavigated Africa, be not satisfactorily established, yet there is no doubt that he made a

* See Note V.

long voyage in the attempt*. Herodotus declares that Neco, Pharaoh of Egypt, who reigned six hundred years before the Christian era, sent a fleet by the Red Sea, into the southern ocean, to make discoveries in Africa; that it returned by the straits of Gibraltar: and, to verify the assertion that it actually doubled the southern promontory, he mentions, as a phenomenon, that in their course these adventurers beheld the sun on their right hand; which would, in fact, have been the case after they had passed the Equator†. These concurrent probabilities, and consistent narratives, carry great weight with them; and the Periplus of Hanno, which we have every reason to believe has been handed down to us uncorrupted from the days of Aristotle, proves that the spirit of discovery animated the Senate of Carthage, at least five hundred years before Christ‡.

The voyage of Sataspes, though failing in its object, was extensive and authentic. Under the reign of Xerxes, the Persian youth was condemned to death for violating a noble virgin; but a sister of Darius interceded, engaging to inflict a punishment no less severe; and he accepted, as the condition of his pardon, the task of sailing round Libya, and returning by the Red Sea. His ship and mariners were prepared in Egypt; and, after passing the columns of Hercules, the adventurer steered his

* Pompon. Mela de Situ Orbis, lib. 3. c. 9.

† Herodotus, lib. 4.

‡ Pompon. Mela, obs. J. Vossii. lib. 3.

course in the Atlantic ocean. But his voyage being one of compulsion rather than of spirited adventure, he beheld, with despair, the prospect of an endless sea; and his complaint, that his ship was stopped, may be imputed to the dead calms that prevail in the neighbourhood of the Line. The natives, alarmed at the aspect of the watery monster, fled into the country wherever he landed; and the unfortunate youth, compelled to brave the danger of an unsuccessful return to the court of his kinsman, was impaled, in expiation of his crime of love*.

It would be strange presumption, therefore, to maintain, contrary to the combined testimony of so many historical facts, that the science of navigation is but the fortuitous effect of human enterprise; or that it entered not into the immediate views and active agencies of the Almighty.

The present age has, certainly, contributed not a little to the advancement of modern science, by a multitude of ingenious discoveries; but it must be admitted that the ancients had smoothed the path, and paved the way, over which we are now so rapidly advancing. They prepared the canvass on which we have worked; they made discoveries, on which it has been, comparatively, easy for us to improve†; and we may still say, what Quintilian declared seventeen hundred years ago: "tot nos præceptoribus, tot exemplis instruxit antiquitas, ut

* Herod.—Ruscelli, Indice degli Huom. illust.

† Vitruvius; and Dutens, Origine des Découvertes.

possit videri nulla sorte nascendi ætas felicior, quam nostra, cui docendæ priores elaboraverunt." Long-continued observations, and repeated experiments, have advanced all the arts to that state of perfection in which we now enjoy them. The secrets of nature, which one age alone could not penetrate, have given way to, and been developed by, the succession of several. By practice, we have now advanced far in the science of navigation; yet much, no doubt, remains, to reward the labours of future ages. We have even gone so far as to reach a World which had been long lost; yet, without the aid of the compass, it might probably have still escaped our search, and millions of our fellow-creatures been yet enjoying the calm repose of their native forests.

This boasted compass, however—this Herculean stone, as Plato calls it, was not the invention of philosophic research; but, like gunpowder, and the telescope, was the mere offspring of a combination of happy accidents—accidents which, in some other shape, might as easily have directed the ancients in their discovery of America. Their skill and perception, although perhaps ruder, were as deep as ours; yet they could not boast of so many thousand years of experience and experiment. The effects of gravity—the centripetal and centrifugal forces, were known to them, and are clearly noticed by Anaxagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and Lucretius. Democritus and Phavorinus had correct ideas of the milky-way, and announced the discovery of the satel-

lites to a wondering world*. Without the compass, then, might not the daring navigators of their age have had some unrecorded means of traversing the ocean? It is even possible that the compass *was* familiar to them. The attractive virtue of the magnet was certainly known to Plato†, and noticed by Hippocrates even before that time. Plutarch speaks of it under the same name‡; and Alexander Aphrodisæus, in his *Quæst. Nat.* (lib. 2. c. 23.) cites the opinion of Empedocles, and subjoins the theory of Democritus, that the magnet owes its virtues "ad effluxiones atomarum§." Descartes gives precisely the same explanation of its powers which had been given by Lucretius fifty-four years before Christ, and which still remains all we know upon the subject. Some authors affirm that, by its assistance, the ancients performed long voyages; that the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, and the Carthaginians, were actually acquainted with its polar attraction, but that it was lost in the lapse of time, as were many of their other ancient arts. A passage from Plautus is adduced, in which it has been supposed that the author refers to the mariner's compass itself:— "Huc secundus ventus nunc est: cape modo Vorsarium, Stasime; cape Vorsarium; recipe te ad Herum‖."

* Aulus Gellius, l. xiv. c. 1. † P. in Timæo.

‡ Platon. Quæst. ii. p. 1005.

§ Gassendi, Opera, ii. p. 108; also, Galen de Nat. facult. i. c. 14.

‖ In Mercatore, act v. scen. 2; and in Trinummo. See also,

Certain it is, that the arts of astronomy and navigation suffered the fate of many others which we have no reason to believe the ancients were ignorant of; some have been lost, and others but partially preserved amongst a few nations, or obscure tribes. Reason, as well as religion, suggests the principle, that such as were necessary for the designs of the Creator have never been withheld from the creatures destined to fulfil them. Many had fallen into oblivion, because, probably, they were no longer needful; and amongst them the art of distant navigation disappeared, when unnecessary, and all the regions of the earth had been furnished with inhabitants through its means. Pliny regrets, that in his time navigation was not so perfect as in former ages; and Strabo says, that the inhabitants of Cadiz *once* excelled in that art. The Phœnicians and Carthaginians were long reputed the most expert seamen; but it answered all the common purposes of commerce to coast along the shores, or cross to some of the nearest islands. We cannot, then, be surprised that, for want of practice, they lost the secret or art of distant navigation over an element so variable, and subject to so many accidents. If their voyages of discovery had even been productive of any fruits, the spirit, and perhaps the very records of their naval enterprises, might have been lost in the destruction of Tyre and Carthage: for their con-

Herwardus Admiranda Ethnicæ Theolog. Mysteria. Ann. 1623, p. 975, and Panciroll. de Rebus deperditis.

querors would have been naturally unwilling to believe the achievements which they were unable to emulate.

The stars were probably the chief guide to the ancient mariners, who launched out upon the unexplored deep; and there are grounds to believe that, if not the telescope and quadrant, some contrivances, which supplied their uses, aided their astronomical observations. Iamblicus says, that Pythagoras attempted to render the same assistance to the sense of hearing as he had already afforded to that of sight, by means of the διοπτρας, and other instruments:—"Οιαν ἡ μεν ὀψις δια του διαβητου, και δια του κανονος, ἡ νη Δια δια Διοπτρας*." When we compare this record, and the testimony of Strabo, with the astronomical knowledge which Democritus had acquired, and which seems to depend on the aid of the telescope, it is hardly possible to deny this boasted modern invention to the ingenuity of the ancients. Not being, however, in vulgar use, it was, perhaps, like other sciences, neglected, till by the mischances of time it was buried in oblivion.

Whether, then, the ancients directed their course upon the seas by the magnet†, or with the assistance of the stars alone, must remain one of the deep secrets of antiquity; but we may safely rely upon the Scriptures, for a proof that they *did* navigate them to a vast extent, and in very early ages of the world.

* Edit. Amst. 4to. 1707, p. 97.—De Vitâ Pythag.

† See Note VI.

Those whose knowledge of antiquity is drawn only from the sources of profane authors, may treat it as impossible that America could have been peopled from the West; or that the Chinese and Japanese could have passed thither long before the Phœnicians, whom they have been accustomed to regard as the very earliest of navigators *. But, be it remembered, the records of the most remote profane history are comparatively of modern date, when referred to the pages of Holy Writ. The great establishments of the Phœnicians are stated, by the most learned chronologists, to have had their origin about the time of the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt: it was long after that when they ventured upon the ocean, and founded Cadiz. But Diodorus of Sicily, having associated them with the Carthaginians in the supposed discovery of America, we must refer the period of such an event to an age subsequent to the aggrandisement of Carthage by Dido; and, since this republic was jealous of the Tuscans, navigation having flourished late in Italy, it is doing much for the credit of the ancient mariners, to fix the epoch of their earliest voyage to the shores of America, one hundred years before the first Punic war. Now that war did not commence until two hundred and sixty-four years before Christ—about five hundred years after the retreat of Dido to Carthage; and, therefore, twelve or thirteen hundred

* See Note VII.

years after the departure of the Israelites from Egypt.

Yet, even at the remote period of the transmigration of the Israelites, the arts necessary to the perfection of architecture were not new. Nearly eight hundred years before that time, in the plains of Sennar, mankind had performed its chef-d'œuvre, by the construction of the tower of Babel. The consequent confusion of tongues, which obliged the artificers to separate before they had finished their undertaking, did not deprive them of the knowledge of arts they had probably long possessed. They doubtless carried them to distant lands; and, amongst others, that of navigation, which the chiefs of tribes had acquired by an examination of the ark of Noah itself, beneath the shade of which they were born*. It is true, some tribes preserved the arts longer and better than others; of which fact we have examples in the children of Japheth and of Ham. The same might have happened to the descendants of Shem, who retired towards the east; and the ignorance in which we remain as to their future deeds, is no proof that they were idle.

Thus, during the space of two thousand years, which elapsed between the dispersion of mankind and the first Punic war, the inhabitants of the East, instructed in navigation by the most perfect marine architect whom the world ever saw, and having only to traverse a sea so calm as to be called the Pacific,

* See Poole's Synopsis.

might easily have been in America long before the Phœnicians could have reached it on its opposite shores; and might have there erected buildings, and rendered the face of the country equal to the beautiful description of it given by Diodorus Siculus, whose delineation is too clear and definite to be condemned as altogether fabulous. He reports that some Phœnicians, after having passed the columns of Hercules, were carried away, by a violent tempest, to far distant lands beyond the ocean, and at length cast upon a fertile island, whose mountains were covered with evergreen forests; and the plains, watered by a multitude of streams, were filled with the golden fruits of the earth, spontaneously and constantly contributing to the luxuries of their inhabitants. For reasons, however, which he assigns, the Carthaginians kept the discovery a profound secret.

It is difficult, indeed, to read this passage, and concur in any other opinion, than that it actually refers to the fertile shores of the tropical regions of America—to the great Atlantic island, of which the ancients so frequently make mention, and which they supposed had sunk in the ocean, for this very simple reason,—that they had neglected and lost the arts which had enabled their forefathers to reach it. The author of *The Book of the World*, supposed to be Aristotle, or his disciple Theophrastus, speaks of other lands than Europe, Asia, and Africa; and Pliny and Arnobius allude to the distant islands of which Plato speaks, as having

been overwhelmed by an earthquake and deluge —meaning Atlantis;—and are supported in the record by Origines, Proclus, and others. Indeed, the histories of the Tyrians, the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, the Persians, and of all succeeding ages, bear ample testimony to the industry of those nations in seeking, as well as subduing, foreign countries.

The navigation of the Argonauts to Colchis, one of the epochæ of Grecian computation, happened eleven hundred years after the Deluge; and, two hundred years before that expedition, Danaus sailed from Egypt to Greece: while Pliny explains the various forms and appendages of shipping, referring to still higher memorials. The idea, therefore, that it is only in these latter ages of the world that mankind have ventured upon distant voyages, confident in the size of their ships, or the expert fearlessness of their navigators, is disproved by a thousand concurring testimonies: amongst others, by that of Pliny, who says that wrecks of Spanish vessels were actually found in the Arabian sea*.

It seems, as by a prophetic spirit, indeed, that Seneca predicted the discovery of America in these remarkable lines:

> Venient annis sæcula seris,
> Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
> Laxet, et ingens pateat tellus,
> Tethysque novos detegat orbes;
> Nec sit terris ultima Thule.

* See Note VIII.

Roger Bacon also, in his *Opus Majus*, pointed with the finger of prophecy to the probability of the existence of this western world, which was not discovered until two hundred years after. Some authors have gone so far as to assert, that Augustus extended the Roman empire to America. Marinaus Siculus reports that an old gold coin, impressed with the figure of Augustus, was found there; and the Spanish conquerors named a town they discovered in Peru, IMPERICLA, because they observed the Roman eagle carved and painted on many of the houses *.

Upon the evident probability, therefore, of there having once been a communication between the old and new worlds, might be founded an hypothesis, that the Hesperides of Hesiod† were the islands of Jamaica, Cuba, and Hispaniola; for as they are said to have been situated beneath the setting sun, these islands seem better to answer that description than the Canaries, or Gorgones.

Pliny tells us that Statius Sebosus took forty days to navigate from these latter isles to the Hesperides‡: now it certainly would not take forty days, nor more than eight, to go from the Cape de Verd islands to the Canaries, where some authors place the Hesperides; but that space of time might, and probably would, in those ages of navigation, have been consumed in a passage to the Antilles.

* Jonston's Thaumatographia, p. 85.

† Hesiod. Op., ed. Lips. 1585, p. 142—296.

‡ Lib. vi. c. 13.

The ancient Celts and Gauls, so famed for their skill in navigation, who sent so many colonies to the extremities of Asia, and of Europe, and whose origin may be traced almost to the children of Japheth, might not they also have penetrated through the Azores to America? If it be objected that these islands were not inhabited until the fifteenth century, it may be answered that those who first discovered them, in all probability would pass on, encouraged by their success, to the continent, which is at no great distance. The Esquimaux, and some other tribes of America, bear so strong a resemblance to those of the north of Europe, and of Asia, and have so little affinity with other nations of the New World, that this fact necessarily suggests a suspicion of their being descendants of the former, possessing nothing in common with the latter.

Through ages succeeding those we have been treating of, the thread of tradition remains unbroken; and conveys to us accounts, confused it may be allowed, of various voyages and migrations from Europe towards America—some from Britain, others from Germany, Norway, Tartary, and Scythia. Hackluyt says, that America was discovered by the Welsh about the year 1170; and that a colony was planted there by Madoc, the son of Owen Guynedd. Meredith Ap Reece, a Cambrian bard, who died in the year 1477, that is, fifteen years before the discovery of America by Columbus, composed an ode in

his native language on this expedition—of which ode the following is an extract:—

Madoc Wyf, Mwyedic Weedd
Iawn genou, Owyn-Guyedd
Ni frinnum dir, fy enaid sedd
Na da mawr, nid y moroedd*.

"Sir Morgan Jones, who was chaplain to General Bennet, in Virginia, about the year 1669, published an account of his having discovered a tribe of Doeg Indians on the Pantijo river, near Cape Atros, whose origin he conceived to have been Welsh; and Owen, in his *British Remains*, supposes that this transmigration happened near the time of William Rufus, or of Henry the First."

That even so far back as the reign of Alfred, the Britons explored the seas, is recorded by William of Malmesbury†, who gives an account of a voyage, made under that monarch's reign, to the peninsula of India, by Sigelmus, a priest; and that the successful navigator was afterwards made bishop of Sherburn. Spelman also, in his *Life of Alfred*, p. 151, mentions a memorial, in the Cotton library, of a voyage, during the reign of that king, made for the purpose of discovering a north-west passage; which relation is also to be found in the Saxon version of *Orosius*, made by Alfred himself—a fair copy of which curious antique is preserved amongst Junius's MSS. in the Bodleian library‡.

With reference to the emigrations from other

* See Note IX. † De Gestis Pontif. Angl. lib. ii. p. 247.
‡ See Note, X.

European states, Grotius reports, that Ericus Rufus colonised Iceland and part of Greenland, as early as the year 982; and Doppelmayer, in his work upon the lives of the mathematicians of Nuremberg, cites authority to prove that one of them, named Martin Behaim, discovered America itself a short time before Columbus, whom he suspects to have profited by such intelligence. This mathematician, who closely applied himself to the study of geography, in the persuasion that there must be much undiscovered land in the west, went to the Low Countries, and solicited from the Duchess Isabella, daughter of John I. of Portugal, a vessel to attempt the discovery. He obtained it, and actually discovered, in 1460, the island of Fayal; but without confining himself to this discovery, he prevailed on John II. to supply him with some ships, with which he departed, in company with a Portuguese named Jacques Canut, and in 1484 discovered (his biographer says) the southern shores of Patagonia and Magellan. Upon this discovery he framed a chart, and placed it in the hands of the king of Portugal, in whose cabinet Magellan saw it thirty-four years afterwards, and took advantage of it to appropriate the discovery.

Puffendorf mentions an extraordinary resemblance between the religious forms amongst the natives of Campeachy and the heathen worship of the East*; and many are the instances of similitude to support

* See Note XI.

the probability of an eastern origin to the inhabitants of the New World.

The barbarous rites of the Charaibs, and other tribes, practised on the admission of their youth to the privileges of manhood, may find examples in the prevalence of a similar custom amongst the Lacedemonians; and the Indian usage of the father to withdraw and fast on the birth of his first-born son, was practised by the Iberians of Asia and the Tiberonians of the Euxine. Grijalva, when he discovered the island of Cozumel, found there, if we may believe Herrera, a cross built of stone, nine or ten feet high, which the natives invoked to obtain rain; and at Yucatan, the Spaniards are said to have met with crucifixes painted on the walls of houses.

La Borde, who lived many years amongst the Charaibs, observes, "à entendre plusieurs de leurs fables, il y a lieu de croire qu'ils ont été autrefois éclairez de la lumière de l'Evangile." It is also remarkable that Cortez observed the Indians performing various religious ceremonies peculiar to the Christian worship, and asked Montezuma whence they derived them; who replied that a strange people had formerly visited his shores, from whom they had been handed down, referring perhaps to Madoc's expedition. That they believed in a resurrection is certain; for when the Spaniards, in their eager search for gold, broke into the silent repositories of their dead, the unfortunate natives, with tears and supplications, interceded for those sanctuaries, which had

ever been held sacred, fearing, as they declared, that, by so dispersing the ashes of the departed, their reunion would be rendered impossible*. Gage also asserts, that before an Indian idol he found pots of maize, honey, and burnt frankincense †, and the word ALLELUYA was used by them in their invocations. Lescarbot distinguishes between the priests and the divines of the Indians, assigning the former appellation to such only as made human sacrifices, and the latter to the more harmless natives of Florida, Virginia, and Brazil. In these countries the divines were called Charaibs, and the physicians Pages‡. The natives of Florida invoked the sun on particular occasions, but paid no adoration to it. That the sun and moon, however, in the infancy of human intelligence, should become the objects of admiration, approaching to veneration, and that savages, observing the wondrous effects produced by them, should make them the objects of worship, appears very natural, and is a species of adoration beautifully expressed by Job, chap. xxxi. v. 26.

Again, the Brazilian interpretation of the word divines, and its appellation, Charaibs, bear a most remarkable affinity with the Greek word κορυβας, a priest of Cybele; and the word *Sagamos*, used by the Indians of New France, for a king or chief, is actually applied in the same sense in the east, if we may credit Maffeus. *Sago* was indeed a title given

* Lescarbot, pp. 717, and 728.

† Gage's "Survey," pp. 173. ‡ Lescarbot, pp. 725, and 855.

to Noah, as the father of knowledge, according to Berose; thence we no doubt derive the word sage. Rabbi David says, that the Hebrew word *sagan* signifies a ruler, and it is so translated in Jeremiah, chap. li. v. 23. Humboldt perceived traces of the Chinese language in that of Mexico.

The Indians universally painted their faces, and their favourite colour was red: so likewise did the Romans in triumph*, who also painted the face of the statue of Jupiter red. The Picts both painted and lacerated themselves, as Herodian records, also Claudian, thus—

> ——————ferroque notatus
> Pertegit exanimes Picto morieute figuras.

The Indians made a distinction between the colours used; if gallantry or joy were the predominant feeling, the painted red or blue; but if they contemplated revenge in any of their warlike expeditions, black was their established hue. The custom of marking their bodies was, in fact, as prevalent amongst the Indians of the New World, in the time of Columbus, as it was amongst the Israelites of the Old in the days of Moses †. Yet, perhaps, a still more extraordinary coincidence of custom is to be found in the fact, that the Charaibs were in the constant habit of chewing the betel, prepared with calcined shells, after the manner of the east, a circumstance recorded

* Pliny, lib. 3. c. 7. and lib. 6. c. 30. also Acosta, p. 151.

† 1 Kings, c. viii. v. 28. Levit. c. xix. v. 27.

by Peter Martyr, from the actual investigation of Columbus*.

Instances like these of concurring rites, languages, and habits between countries whose means of communication had been, to all appearance, cut off and obliterated for more than four thousand years, furnish a very powerful argument in favour of a common origin. No one can doubt but that, in the infancy of mankind, the different tribes were mingled, dispersed, divided, and subdivided into endless varieties. Foreign wars and domestic feuds, ancient as the passions of man, the necessity of separating and emigrating, sometimes because a country was unequal to the maintenance of its increased inhabitants; at others, because the weak were oppressed by the powerful; natural restlessness, intuitive curiosity, and a thousand other motives, must have produced infinite migrations throughout all the ages of the world. The disorders attendant upon such changes, the difficulty of preserving arts and traditions amongst fugitives transplanted into a distant land, and the unperceived accidents of tempests, earthquakes, and shipwrecks, in process of time would effectually cut off all record of their origin. In some, and probably in all, of these ways has America been supplied with inhabitants. And we may easily imagine that a wandering race, forced to unite for mutual defence, or engaged by the eloquence of a chieftain, would soon have been able to erect itself into a monarchy,

* Decad. 8. c. 6.

frame laws, and comprehend many distinct nations. Such was the origin of the greatest empires in the Old World, and such must have been the case of Mexico and Peru in the New.

Nor does this conclusion at all invalidate the testimony of recent discoveries. We are no where told that those who went to America found the country destitute of inhabitants; on the contrary, Diodorus Siculus, and the earliest traditions, speak of the countries discovered in the west as thickly populated. The accidents which may have cast the natives of the Old Word upon the shores of the New, would probably have precluded the possibility of their return to tell their wondrous tale; but we are not to argue from their silence that they died of famine, or were the only human beings upon the untenanted wilderness. And that such accidents have occurred is clearly proved by the discovery of the stern-post which had belonged to some stranded vessel, and was found by Columbus upon the shores of Guadaloupe. Glass also, in his History of the Canary Islands, speaks of a ship, bound from Lancerota to Teneriffe, which was, by foul weather, driven upon the distant coast of the Caraccas, where she was relieved by an English cruiser, and carried into the port of La Guaira. And Gumilla saw a vessel driven off the coast of Teneriffe into the port of St. Joseph, in Trinidad. Our countryman, Sir Dodmore Cotton, who, in the year 1626, went ambassador to the Persian court, was in his voyage thither driven, in lat.

24° 42′ S., one hundred leagues by winds and currents; and at length actually found himself upon the coast of Brazil. Peter Martyr records the circumstance of Vasco Nunez having met with a colony of negroes near Quarequa, in the gulph of Darien, whose appearance there could only be accounted for by supposing that they had been driven across by stress of weather, from the African coast*.

Such accidents might as easily have happened three thousand years ago, as in later ages; and unaided, as the ancients probably were, by the compass, and the ingenious contrivances of marine architecture, it is but reasonable to suppose that they were even much more subject to similar casualties than we are. The dark sea of conjecture may be partially illuminated by the suggestions to which these probabilities lead; and we may very reasonably arrive at this conclusion: first, that America derived its population from the cradle of the human race; and that Europe, Asia, and Africa, all contributed at various periods to furnish the fourth quarter of the world with all the works of the creation. Secondly, that the casual, or intentional, emigrations which have peopled America with its present race, have all happened since the Deluge; that is, within the period of the last four thousand years. And even supposing the first migration to have taken place only two thousand years ago, thus allowing two thousand years for those progressive improvements

* See Note XII.

in navigation which the building of the Ark would suggest, and that no more than fifty pairs composed the moving tribe, it is easily ascertained that sufficient numbers might have been propagated, to people the vast regions of the New World*. Driven by necessity into the habits of a barbarous life, they would necessarily lose the arts and traditions they might have brought with them; they would degenerate in their successive offspring, and their progeny would assimilate to the nature of the country and climate into which they had been transplanted.

Some authors attempt to prove that the human race can have existed in America little more than six hundred years†; but their arguments are erroneous: for if barbarity and ignorance were to be taken as incontestable evidence of the infancy of a people, the negroes would be the most recent of men; whereas their origin surpasses all age and record. If we consider the want of tradition and barbarous superstition as proofs of late descent, there is a conflicting example at hand. The Buccaneers of St. Domingo were Christians; but leading a brutal life amongst themselves, in the short space of one generation they became barbarians; wild as the woods they dwelt in, and cruel as the beasts they hunted. If they had been suffered to exist to the third generation, they would have lost all record of their origin,

* Sir Mat. Hale. Origination of Mankind, p. 196.

† See Note XIII.

and formed a race of white savages, the objects of terror, and speculation to future ages. They might possibly have preserved some outward forms of the worship of their forefathers; but of that they could have given no account, further than what was found amongst the Indians of the Antilles, and in the religious rites of many of the nations of America.

Besides the passage across the Atlantic, which the above facts and observations tend to establish as one of the various means whereby America has been supplied with inhabitants, the supposition of a land communication between America and the old hemisphere must be admitted: or how, it may be asked, could the latter have obtained its vast varieties of the inferior animals of the creation? The continuity might have been either at the northern, or at the southern, extremity of the continent; or perhaps in points at this moment very far separated*. In considering this question, two very doubtful perplexities assail us: first, whether insects, fish, and vegetables, which by their nature may arise from equivocal generation, had as large and universal a nativity as the globe they overspread? Secondly, whether the primitive genera of the more perfect animals were diffusively created over the whole surface of the earth; or whether they were only certain *capita specierum utriusque sexus*, produced within a particular determinate district, near to the garden of Eden; and propagated thence throughout the world?

* See Note XIV.

Divine authority and physical reasoning lead us to the conclusion that the race of perfect terrestrial animals was created near to the place of Adam's birth: and that from these, and these only, such animals were propagated, and dispersed over the surface of the whole earth; moreover, that the American breed was, by some means, deduced from those which were preserved in the Ark. For we are told, in very plain language, that *all* the fowls and beasts were brought into the presence of Adam to receive their names; which seems to convey that their several kinds were within some reasonable and approachable distance.

The difficulties which lie in the way of the transportation of such animals as mankind would not have exerted their ingenuity in conveying across the seas to the distant regions of America, may be surmounted by the very probable supposition that, within the circle of three thousand years, there may have been some practicable communications, some remote continuity between the northern regions of Europe, or Asia, and the arctic ices of America; though, for ages past, the revolutions of nature, which have caused such visible mutations in the climate and confines of the Old World, have broken and obliterated these lines of communication with the New. The fury of the ocean, the violence of the tempest, or the still more irresistible concussions of the earth itself, might as easily have effaced the union in those remote regions, as they have altered the countries which

are subject to our observation: and thus would be destroyed the hypothesis of the Præ-Adamites, which is built upon arguments as absurd in themselves, as they are incompatible with the sacred truths of revealed religion.

If we observe the disposition of the numerous small islands lying between China and New Guinea, almost contiguous to each other, there are some grounds for the supposition that they were not always islands; and a convulsion, which could rend asunder such a portion of the earth, might as easily have effaced those communications with America, which had then fulfilled the designs of Providence by affording a passage to the Ark's contents. The alteration of climate, the fortuitous mixture of breed, and the peculiarities of their exotic association, would produce, in the same genera, those infinite varieties of species, which are now esteemed peculiar to the regions of America. Similar variations were, long ago, observed in Africa; arising from the promiscuous meeting of the different animals which, in its arid deserts, took place at the partial waters. The circumstance was observed by Aristotle, and gave rise to the proverb, *Semper aliquid novi Africa affert.*

The Spaniards, who stocked America with European animals, found that they increased with amazing rapidity, and were soon spread from the islands throughout the neighbouring continent. Benzo observes, "Ibidem omne genus quadrupedum, pecu-

dumque ex Hispaniâ transvectum ad propagandam stirpem, magno proventu sobolescit; et Hispani nonnulli sex octóve millia animalium in pecuariis atque armentis possident." This was as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century; and the fact proves how soon exotic animals became assimilated to a genial climate.

From all that has been said, and from much more that might be deduced from analogy, and confirmed by experience, we may confidently refer the population of the new world to the early ages of the old; to a people who, although they might be ignorant of what semi-barbaric societies are now familiar with, knew what might put the most civilised nations to the blush. It is impossible to form any accurate ideas of the state of society in ages before the invention of letters, and so far removed beyond all tradition. If we receive the most moderate account of the first empires, according to the precise terms of description which are now familiar to us, we grossly exaggerate the picture: if, on the other hand, we deny all arts to men who were ignorant of those which now seem to be the springs of civilisation, we equally misrepresent the truth.

Mighty are the changes which, in little more than three hundred years, have been effected in the fourth vast quarter of the earth; and the mind is lost in contemplating what may probably happen there in future ages. Freedom has been proclaimed; independence has been established there; and, as the

first steps to civilisation were originally made on the banks of the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Persian Gulph, where the ruins of Nineveh, Babylon, and Susa attest the early sway of mighty empires, Columbia, in the spirit of her own institution, may one day send back her genius to kindle up the light of liberty in Asia, and to break the rayless night of despotism which now broods over that entire quarter of the globe. It is what she owes to the sacred cause of liberty, by which she has herself been exalted: it is but a reasonable tax upon the birth-right which she has thence received.

May we not trace some obscure glances cast at America from the Mount of Vision? as if it were from a consciousness of the future relationship between that undiscovered land, and Asia. David says, "If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost part of the west." Thus Malachi: "From the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering." And since the Hebrews gave the name of islands to all countries beyond the sea, perhaps the words of Isaiah may be applied: "Surely the isles shall wait for me." Again, in the last chapter of the same Prophet: "I will gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come, and see my glory. And I will set a sign among them, and will send those that escape of them unto the nations, to Tarshish, Pul, and Lud,

that draw the bow; to Tubal, and Javan, *to the isles afar off;* that have not heard my fame, neither have they seen my glory: and they shall declare my glory among the Gentiles."

Let America, then, from her western hills, reflect back the morning light which she received from Asia; and thus explain why the eyes of eastern seers came, before Columbus, to these distant lands.

Chapter III.

THE INDIANS.

The testimony of all early navigators corroborates the opinion of Columbus, that the natives found upon the islands of Jamaica, Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, and, according to Las Casas, upon Trinidad also, were scions from the same root; differing materially from the inhabitants of those windward and smaller islands which prolong the great chain of the Antilles to the Southern Continent. The Mexican empire was probably the *officinâ gentium*;—its territories, in a teeming climate, where man was but a weed, would soon swarm with human life, and naturally seek to disburthen themselves upon those adjacent islands which offered the tempting lure of peace and fertility. Yucatan and Florida would present the nearest points from which to embark; and a navigation neither long nor difficult would disperse the settlers throughout the greater Antilles, where they would keep up their intercourse with each other, and with the parent stock upon the main.

Columbus, when he discovered Cuba, found, in one of its villages, a mass of bees' wax, which he carried with him to Spain as a curiosity; for he could discover no trace of that substance in any other part of the island; and he afterwards had reason to believe

that it was brought from Yucatan, through some commercial intercourse between those countries, which he declared he could never accurately develope*. What his reasons were for such a conclusion we do not find; but if, as we must believe of so accurate a traveller, they were well-founded, the circumstance throws some light upon this probable origin of the islanders; who thus, after their emigration, continued a friendly intercourse with the continental tribes. Some years afterwards, during the fourth voyage of Columbus, in 1502, a large canoe was picked up near the Isle of Pines, on the coast of Cuba, in which were found twenty-five men, with various manufactures of cotton, palm-nets, hard-wood swords, flint knives, and such articles as induced the Spaniards to believe that they also came from Yucatan. Peter Martyr says, that the natives of Yucatan spoke the same language; and we shall presently find that the component parts of the Indian word *Xaymaca*, were of that dialect. No further light can, at this distance of time, be thrown upon the obscure origin of the Indian islanders, found, as they were, without the testimony of written records, without tradition; and who were exterminated almost as soon as found.

Martyr declares, that the island of Jamaica was inhabited by a race of Indians more enlightened, kind, and gentle, than any its discoverers had met with. Columbus described it as by far the most

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. xviii. pp. 19—119.

beautiful island in these seas; and said, that the innumerable canoes which came off to him, attested an abundant population; but that, upon his standing in-shore, to obtain soundings, armed bands menaced his nearer approach. Las Casas, who declares that the island abounded with inhabitants "as an ant-hill with ants," accuses the Castilians of having massacred upwards of six thousand of them in a very short space of time, some of whom were burnt, and many torn in pieces by their blood-hounds. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Jamaica was thickly populated, and its favoured spots, the savannahs, richly, though rudely, cultivated.

In point of personal appearance, the Indians were tall and well-proportioned; their complexion, a sunburnt brown beneath a transparent tint of a redder hue; their features, hard and gross, with wide nostrils, long black hair, discoloured teeth, and eyes possessing all the wild perplexity which characterises savage life. Yet this rude exterior was not altogether natural; for, beneath an artificial mask of prevailing fashion, the natives possessed dispositions mild, humane, and amiable; and manners far from ungraceful. The red tint was caused by the annotto pigment; and the natural shape of their heads was destroyed by the universal custom of depressing the sinciput in infancy; or by manual force folding it beneath the occiput, where it was retained by ligatures, and thin metal plates, until the forehead became totally depressed and doubled in thickness;

thus changing a naturally fair physiognomy into a wild and distorted expression. Their martial spirit probably suggested this practice; for their skulls, being thus folded, became almost impenetrable to the strokes of the wooden swords they used, and frequently even the Castilian blades broke short upon their heads *. Yet this warlike spirit, which exacted such a barbarous sacrifice, was combined with a disposition that shamed their merciless invaders; and, in spite of the hideous exterior, there shone forth, in these unhappy islanders, expressions enlivened by confidence and softened by compassion.

The men used no clothing whatever; the women, but little; and the younger females, none. They were of a phlegmatic and weak temperament, occasioned chiefly by the nature of their diet, which consisted chiefly of vegetables and shell-fish. Very little labour earned for them the gratification of every want, and induced an apathetic indolence which it required some extraordinary occasion to disturb. They possessed, however, in some degree of perfection, the art of manufacturing the cotton which grew spontaneously in their Eden, and they wrought it into hamacks or beds, variously dyed with much brilliancy and beauty.

After their favourite exercise of dancing, they would dedicate the remainder of the day to the voluptuousness of the couch, resigning themselves to profound repose, without a disquieting thought, or a

* Ferdinand Columbus, c. xxiii.

wish ungratified. Simple, gentle, and good natured, they were as destitute of genius or memory as they were devoid of malevolence or envy. Their island was to them an untainted paradise, yielding abundantly to the full gratification of their desires. A few songs comprehended all their historical knowledge; yet these, changed as they were with the dynasty of each successive cacique, could not be received as established traditions, except in the case of their confused fables relating to the origin of the human race. These their annals were always rehearsed with music, and accompanied with dancing; one of the company regulated the step and word; cadence and time were duly observed; and in their chief feasts they used a tambourine, which the cacique alone, or the principal inhabitant of the village, was authorised to touch *. Another of their amusements, the nature of which it is difficult to reconcile with their reputed inactivity, was the *batos*, in which the women joined, and inspired the men with their superior vivacity. It consisted in the dexterous management of a rebounding elastic ball, light and porous, composed of boiled roots and macerated herbs. They caught it, like the jugglers of the East, upon the head, shoulders, back, and knees, quickly and successively, without its being allowed to rest or touch the ground, and he who thus held it longest was declared the victor. Every village had its batos-ground, and the victory between two neighbouring

* P. Martyr Dec. 3. c. 7. Herrera, l. 3. c. 4. Oviedo, lib. 6. c. 2.

villages was always celebrated by a fête, at the expense of the vanquished. The evening usually closed with the fumes of tobacco, which were inhaled from a hot vessel of leaves, through a tube in the shape of a Y, whose two branches were inserted into the nostrils of the smoker. Of course, intoxication speedily ensued, and they all remained upon the spots on which they had fallen, except the cacique, whose exclusive privilege it was to be carried away by his women. The inebriation was quickly dissipated, but the dreams and visions of fancy which haunted their sleeping imaginations were noted and sanctified as the oracles of heaven*.

The curiosity of the first Spanish invaders was unfortunately but little excited by the manners and customs of the Indians, and they have left us few descriptive particulars. Gold was all they sought for, and in their eager search they were blind to every species of irrelative information. Oviedo justly reproaches them with having never thought of describing the various newly-discovered countries, and their interesting inhabitants, until the face of the former was changed, and the latter were utterly destroyed by them. This hiatus it is which must render his testimony suspicious in the odious picture he attempts to draw of the vices of those unhappy victims of Spanish cruelty, in whose defamation he seems interested, in order to extenuate or palliate

* See Note XV.

the exterminating cruelties which his countrymen had inflicted. "Il prétend, par exemple, que le péché de Sodome étoit commun dans toutes les isles: tandis que d'autres historiens assurent que cette abomination n'y étoit pas même connue." Between conflicting testimonies the truth generally lies with the least interested—Oviedo must, therefore, yield to the authority of more charitable historians.

Love, with this happy people, was not a transient and youthful ardour only, but the source of all their pleasures, and the chief business of their lives. They gave full indulgence to the instincts of nature, while the influence of climate heightened the sensibility of the passions. Their blood was thus so much corrupted, that most of them were subject to that dreadful disease, whose communication to the Old World has caused a contamination which all the treasures of the New can never compensate. Their incontinence was moderated by no law of limitation, and their isle was to them an isle of luxury and love. Amongst their numerous wives, one was always advanced to a superior rank. When their common husband died, some of them would suffer themselves to be buried in his grave, though such examples were voluntary and rare. It was, however, their peculiar office to attend to the obsequies of their dead. They enveloped the body in broad folds of cotton, and placed it in a deep pit, with all the most precious possessions of the deceased. It was there left in a sitting position, and over it a kind of wooden arch, built to

sustain the weight of the superincumbent earth. The great depth of the grave accounts for the fact that these Indian inhumations are seldom discovered. Their funeral ceremonies were accompanied with singing; and the body of a Cacique was always embowelled, and carefully dried. It was upon these occasions that they composed those traditional songs which commemorated the praises of the deceased chief, and the events of his reign. These were sung at all the fêtes of his successor; but giving place in their turn to new compositions, all records of the remote reigns were thus irrevocably cut off.

The Mosquito Indians, to whom those of Jamaica bore a strong affinity, adopted more strictly the Eastern practice of burying, with the deceased head of every family, all those who had been his household servants; an affectionate regulation, which included even his wives. Oexmelin tells a story of a Portuguese, who, after losing an eye in vain resistance, had been captured by these savages, and reduced to slavery. He had soon to encounter the additional misfortune of surviving his new master; and was surprised by an order to attend his body in the grave. While they were preparing it, he calmly remonstrated with them on their thoughtless folly in sending him, with only one eye, to wait upon his master in the other world, where it would redound little to his credit to be seen with a blind slave in his suite. The Indians relished the reason, and released the man.

If necessity, at any time, roused these Islanders from their habitual inactivity, it was for the purpose of fishing, and hunting. It was from the Indian fishermen on the coast of Cuba that Columbus obtained the name of Xaymaca; and it is probable that these were, in fact, Jamaica fishermen, gone so far in pursuit of their object—for, although the distance be considerable, the high lands of these islands are reciprocally visible. They manufactured a species of net, which, in shallow water, was effective; but their ordinary mode of fishing was by a bark line, and a bone hook. In hunting the *agouti*, they used a small species of native mute dog, which they called *goschis*. Their dexterity scarcely served them in the use of the arrow to hit the feathered tribe; but they supplied the defect by stratagem—the abundance of parrots, and other birds, enabling their pursuers to entrap them by imitating their cry and notes. Although their estimation of the precious metals differed widely from ours, yet they valued them so far as to gather them with care, and preserve them with veneration. But their search for gold was confined to the collection of it in grains, which they knew how to find in the beds of the rivers, and mountain-torrents; while all the labour bestowed upon them was that of beating them flat, to serve as personal ornaments. That the simple Indians esteemed them, even as sacred particles, would however appear from the fact, that they never went in search of them without a previous preparation of

fasting and continence. Historians relate that Columbus took the hint, in his memorable endeavour to establish the same custom amongst the Spaniards; obliging them to fast and confess, before they went into the mines: but his Aumôniers, with more gallantry than truth, informed him that the church was not so cruel as to require such extraordinary service; for that, while the Atlantic separated them from their wives, life was one continual fast and mortification.

Agriculture was so little attended to by the Indians, that they were destitute of every species of implement; fire was the only instrument of their husbandry; they burned the herbage of their dry savannahs, drilling the teeming earth with a short stick, and planting there the maize, or cassava. It was such repeated burning that baked, and almost sterilized the soil—leaving the traces of this barbarous cultivation still visible in the Pedro plains, in the fern-grounds of Manchester, and in various other sites of their thickest population. They obtained fire from two pieces of dry wood—one light and porous, the other compact and hard: this last they inserted in a small cavity of the former; and, by violent and confined collision, produced ignition, which rapidly spread through the porous wood. Though possessing flints, they seemed ignorant of their power of yielding fire with greater facility. Fire was their greatest treasure, and chief artificer; for by its aid they also formed their canoes. When a tree was selected, fire destroyed its vegetation; and

when dry, fire felled it: a smothered fire consumed its heart; which, when they had sufficiently charred, was cut out by a small greenstone hatchet—specimens of which curious instrument are still often found. It is said that the Spaniards could never discover from whence this species of stone was brought. Some have affirmed that it is no where to be found native, except in the bed of the river of the Amazones; the petrified sediment of which hardens into such a substance; but it is difficult to conceive that these Islanders held any communication with so distant a nation.

Their form of government was despotic; but the Caciques seldom abused their power. They had few laws; and the most severe that which punished theft—for the detected culprit was impaled without mercy. Such rigour produced confidence and security in their mutual intercourse, banished all semblance of avarice, and engendered such reciprocal aid, that hospitality and benevolence welcomed even the invasions of their merciless persecutors. Disputes seldom arose; and if there ever happened any difference between the Caciques, with regard to their respective rights, they were bloodless wars. Their arms indeed were scarcely murderous, for their only use of the bow and arrow was in the chase; and there it seems to have been learnt from their enemies, the Charaibes, their own national arms being simply a javelin of hard wood, and those heavy clubs called *macanas*. The royal succession to the

tribes never occasioned war; for they conceived it founded on the laws of nature, which substitute the children for the deceased parent: and the order of blood being certain on the female side, the estate of a Cacique who chanced to die childless, passed to the children of his sisters*.

The houses of these islanders were built in two ways: the poorer orders fixed posts in the ground, in the form of a circle, and at distances of four feet; upon these they placed thick plates, which supported a conical roof, covered with transverse layers of wild canes, and thatched with the palm-leaf, or the tops of the canes themselves. To form the walls, they bound the canes to the posts with the China withes†; called by them *boschiuchi*; and to that parasite they attributed all the medicinal virtues for which we now esteem it. The canes were so well secured by these means, that they resisted the most impetuous hurricanes; and were so strait, and closely bound, that the walls were impervious to the tropical rains which beat so fiercely upon them. The building was completed by the erection of a post in the centre, to which the extremities of all the poles, forming the apex of the conical roof, were united. The habitations of the chiefs were constructed of the same materials, but under a different form, and resembled rather the plan of an English barn: they were larger, more ornamented, and better covered, than the rest; in fact, Oviedo assures us that their roofs were better

* Herrera. † Smilax China: Dioëcia Hexandria.

arranged, and better thatched, than are those of the cottages in a Dutch village.

The dialects of all the Indian islanders were subdivisions of the same language, and have been esteemed particularly harmonious. It may be estimated by those words which the Spaniards adopted, many of which are still in use; as *canoa*, *amacha*, and *ufacane*. The word *savannah*, used in all the early descriptions of these islands, is also, no doubt, derived from the same language; though Mariana erroneously places it amongst those words which the Spaniards have preserved from the Visigoths.

The Indian religion was an ill-assorted tissue of the grossest superstitions, and most extravagant absurdities. The first historians of the New World agree in relating the opinion of the natives, that a demon frequently appeared to them, delivering oracles, to which they bowed with profound and blind submission. But this demon existed, it seems, only in the intoxicating fumes of the tobacco. The various forms and figures which they gave to their divinities were, through its means, suggested to the visionary conceptions of their torpid intellects. The most tolerable were those of toads, turtle, and snakes; but they generally adopted human figures, horribly and dreadfully monstrous. If such variety of idols assured them of a plurality of gods, their excess in deformity would as naturally suggest the apprehension that they were fearful beings, possessing evil influence rather than the power of doing good. The

object of their worship would, therefore, be directed to appease these tremendous divinities, which they called *Chemis*, or *Zemes* * ; and were formed of limestone, or baked earth. As they had no place of public worship, these horrid images were placed in the corners of their apartments as household gods; and being there constantly before their eyes, it is not surprising that hideous associations should be formed during their hours of intoxication, despondency, or sleep. They did not conceive them to be uniformly instrumental in the same manner: one presided over the seasons, another inflicted pains; some ruled the fortune of the chase; while each exacted its peculiar worship. Some historians affirm, that the Zemez were only subaltern divinities; the supposed ministers of a Supreme Being, invisible, omnipotent, whom they called *Iocahuna* † ; to whom they gave a mother, under five different names, and whose residence was in the sun and moon. They worshipped, however, neither the one nor the other, but addressed themselves only to these their ministering household gods. The historian of Christopher Columbus relates, on the authority of a missionary, whose Memoires he adopts, that the Zemez were the tutelar deities; and that each islander attached himself to one which he esteemed superior to the rest. When the Spaniards came amongst them, they concealed these idols; but some sailors, one day, surprising a company of worshippers in the house of a Cacique,

* See Note XVI. † P. Martyr, Dec. 1, l. 9.

perceived a Zemez, from which issued incomprehensible sounds, which were received as oracles. Suspecting the imposture, they broke the image in pieces, and found within it a tube, one extremity of which terminated in the head, and the other beneath a bed of leaves, under which an Indian lay concealed. The Cacique intreated that his secret might not be disclosed, assuring the Spaniards that it was only by such means that he could exact tribute or submission from his people.

Oviedo gives a description of a religious festival amongst the first-discovered islanders. The Cacique published the day by heralds, and it commenced with a procession, wherein the men and women bore with them all their most precious possessions; the girls alone being, as usual, totally naked. The Cacique himself headed the procession with his tambourine of state, and led them into a place filled with all the collected idols. There the *bohitos*, or priests, joined them; prepared to receive their offerings, which consisted principally of little figures moulded in clay, and presented in baskets adorned with blooming branches. After this ceremony, the females received a signal to commence dancing, and singing the praises of their Zemez: then succeeded eulogiums on their Cacique, and a prayer for the prosperity of the tribe; while the bohitos broke the little moulded figures, and distributed the fragments amongst their worshippers, by whom they were preserved as amulets until the next festival. The

Cacique, during these ceremonies, was without the building, beating his tambourine incessantly; and, at the conclusion, he passed the whole procession in review; when the people betook themselves to their particular idols, and, ceasing their minstrelsy, barbarously thrust short sticks into their mouths, to occasion vomiting. The spirit of this strange ceremony was described to be, that they might so evince their unworthiness to appear before their God otherwise than with a heart, purified, chaste, and unsullied, and, as it were, upon their lips.

Such of the priests as practised the art of healing, were called *Butios*, and were highly esteemed as especially inspired by their Zemez. Their healing art consisted in mysteriously sucking the diseased part of the patient, feigning to extract thence some extraneous substance, which they took care to have ready in their mouths, declaring it the cause of the malady, which they attributed to the malignity of some person, from whose future attacks they alone could secure them.

The remains of the Indian villages in Jamaica may still be traced by the accumulated heaps of broken pottery, and beds of marine shells. The latter supplied the principal food of the islanders; and amongst the former are usually found the remains of those plates upon which they dried their cassava; with earthen pots, "en façon," as Lescarbot says, "de bonnet de nuit." Peter Martyr speaks with admiration of the workmanship of their

earthenware, as ornamented with accurate representations of animals, and sometimes even exquisitely wrought.

The early historians, perhaps too credulous, agree in reporting that, a short time before the arrival of Columbus, the islanders had received a distinct warning from their Zemez, that an approaching event was about to plunge them in ruin, and reduce them to slavery. Columbus is said to have been informed of the circumstances attending this extraordinary prediction. The father of one of their reigning caciques having had the curiosity to consult the Zemez on the fate of the island after he should die, the oracle delivered a prediction, that there would shortly arrive a bearded race of men, clothed from head to foot; that these strangers would destroy their gods, and abolish their worship; and that they carried thunder in their belts, with which they would exterminate the inhabitants of the isles. This prophetic menace was disclosed—consternation spread—the deaf deities were importunately invoked, and the usual hymn of praise gave place to a song of death. Similar predictions are related with respect to the expiring empires of Mexico and Peru.

In the little village of Iwanee, on the south side of Cuba, it is said that the descendants of a few of the Jamaica Indians are still existing. Certain it is that this island did not contain a single Indian native when the English forces took possession of it, nor, probably, for a century before that period. To

this day many caverns may be found strewed with the skulls of these people, who, immured in such gloomy recesses, or hunted thither by the Spanish blood-hounds, were reduced to the alternative of perishing by hunger, or bleeding under the swords of their merciless pursuers.

A remarkable cavern of this description was lately discovered amongst the sea-beaten rocks of Pedro Bluff. The visitor will there find himself in a fetid charnel-house, surrounded with mouldering bones, and literally ancle deep in human dust. The more perfect skulls, with the pottery which the persecuted islanders had conveyed into the spot destined to be their tomb, have been carried away by the curious: but the artificial anatomy of the former sufficiently attests their Indian origin; while the selection of the place, and the state in which the remains were found, prove that these victims of Spanish cruelty preferred starving to butchery. The number destroyed in Jamaica alone, has been estimated at sixty thousand, and perhaps this estimate is not far wide of the truth; for Columbus reported the island to be very thickly populated, and is supported in that fact by the testimony of Las Casas, who was an eye-witness of the inhumanity which exterminated them.

Chapter IV.

THE CHARAIBES.

The Charaibes, or inhabitants of the lesser Antilles, were the implacable enemies of the peaceable and more civilised natives of Jamaica, Cuba, and Hispaniola. Benzo says, "Charaibes propriè dicebantur quondam, Boriquenæ, Dominiæ, Martitini, Cibucheiræ, (hodie S. Crucis) insularum incolæ; qui canois, id est lintribus monoxylis, vecti, Hispaniolensibus et Jamaicensis Indis bellum inferebant."

Le Sieur de la Borde employed twenty years in attempting their conversion to Christianity; and the character of these people, drawn by one whose long residence afforded great opportunities of accurate information, differs so essentially from that given by all other historians, that he thought it necessary thus to preface his work *.

"Il y a un si grand nombre de relations des Isles, qu'il est inutile de répéter ce que l'on en a dit tant de fois. S'il semble néanmoins que je le fasse en quelques rencontres, c'est qu'on a représenté les choses autrement qu'elles ne sont, faute de les avoir vues, ou pour quelques raisons et considérations, ils nous les ont déguisées, et dit plus, ou moins, qu'il

* The MS. of La Borde was found in the collection of M. Blondel, and published at Leyden, 1704.

n'y en avoit. Je ne prétens pas parler ici de l'air, du climat, et de la nature, du pais; d'autres en ont assez parlé; je fais seulement quelques remarques pour satisfaire ceux qui le désirent sur les coûtumes, et superstitions des sauvages; et ce que j'en dirai, je le puis assurer véritable, pour la grande habitude que j'ai eue avec eux, et pour avoir été assez curieux d'y prendre garde, et de m'en informer. Cette curiosité n'est pas blâmable lors qu'on en tire quelque profit; car, quand je considère que les Charaibes sont hospitaliers, sans ambition, très simples, sans avarice, très sincères, sans larcin, sans fraude, sans blasphèmes, sans mensonges, je ne peux que les admirer, et les imiter en leur morale, quant aux points ci-dessus; car s'ils ont leurs perfections, ils ont aussi leurs vices; dont nous parlerons dans la suite de ce discours. Lors que je considère leur aveuglement, et qu'ils n'ont ni foi, ni loi, ni roi, je me sens obligé de remercier mon Créateur," &c.

La Borde observed an obscure tradition amongst the Charaibes; that their ancestors came originally from the continent, and conquered a nation of the Isles, destroying all but the women: a circumstance which accounts for the different languages spoken by the males and females at the time of their discovery, for it was not at first observed that they formed a race distinct from the Indians. Rochefort pronounces the Charaibes to have been originally an invading nation of Florida, to whom the lesser islands became an easy prey; while Jamaica and its neigh-

bouring isles possessed strength and resources sufficient to drive off the hostile bands of their savage assailants. Martyr, on the other hand, conceives them to have emigrated from South America; and Sir Walter Raleigh, in his romantic expedition to Guiana, found the natives on those shores speaking the same language as those of Dominica *.

The remarkable distinction between the male and female languages of the Charaibes seems to have escaped the notice of most historians; but La Borde exemplifies it thus :—

	Male tongue.	*Female tongue.*
a bed	amac	nehera
a bow	aullaba	chimala
the moon	nortum	kati
the sun	hyyayon	kachi
cassava bread	aleba	marow

Benzo observes, that the Charaibes derive their name from Caribana "Urabensis sinus orientalis ora in continente Indiæ occid." The word, in the Indian language, signified brave, and strong. Brigstock says, that it had the same signification in the Apalachian tongue, and it was used, as we have seen, by the Brazilians to designate priests. Some authors suppose that Galabis, and Charaibes, were appellations confined to the inhabitants of the Antilles by their European discoverers,—corruptions of the word Gallinago. The people called Galibis, mentioned by Dr. Robertson, were however no other than the con-

* Hakluyt. v. 3. p. 668.

tinental Charaibes; and such might have been the national appellation.

All intuitive idea of a Deity, for whom, according to Rochefort, they had not even a name, was extinguished by the brutality of these people. They feared an evil spirit which they called *Maboia*, although they did not worship it. Their creed, as it related to the origin of their race, was this: Lonquo was their common father, he was not made, but descended from the skies, and lived long upon earth. The first generation of human beings issued from his body: he formed the fish from pieces of cassava cast into the ocean. After his death, in three days he arose from the earth, and ascended into the skies. Other terrestrial animals came soon afterwards; but whence they could not discover. Their earliest food was fish: but, after the departure of Lonquo, they discovered a small garden of cassava, which he had left; yet being unacquainted with its use, they neglected it, until an aged man appeared, who taught them that it was designed for their food; and that, if they would break the branches into small pieces, and cast them upon the earth, the roots would be renewed and multiplied. At first it required but three moons to bring it to perfection; but as the wickedness of mankind increased, its maturity was delayed to nine moons. The sky they supposed immutable from all eternity; but not so either the earth, or the sea; which were formed by Lonquo himself. Soon after this arrangement, the moon

appeared; but it then becoming necessary to supply her pale deficiency of light, the sun was formed, while the hapless moon, finding herself outshone, veiled her face for very shame, and showed herself only at night. All the stars they supposed to be dead Charaibes; for although no maladies assailed them in their primitive innocence, and the earth spontaneously produced all the requisites for a life of complete ease and inactivity, their wickedness roused the vengeance of the great master-spirit of good whom they called *Chemeens*, and who sent a rain of many days, which drowned all but a few who saved themselves on the summit of the only mountain upon the earth. This event, which they dwelt much upon, they called *the Deluge of the Tempest*; and considered the present inequalities of the earth's surface to have been caused by its floods.

The poetic enthusiasm of the Missionary may perhaps have too readily adapted, and too highly coloured, the original fiction; but there is certainly a remarkable coincidence between this traditionary creed, and the facts recorded in the Mosaic writings. Similar ideas of an universal deluge prevailed throughout all the most barbarous nations of America; and afford a strong proof of their universal identity with the race of Noah. Though dressed in poetic guise, yet these fictions may rank, at least, as high as those of the ancients, who imagined man to have sprung from the serpents' teeth sown by Cadmus; or the stones thrown over

their heads by Deucalion and Pyrrha. So that the general tradition that man derived his origin *ex non genitis*, is a greater evidence that it was true, than that he was made out of arrows stuck in the ground, or *ex folliculis terræ innascentibus*, as the ancient philosophers contended *;

Racumon was one of the first Charaibes whom Lonquo formed: his form was afterwards changed into that of a serpent, with a man's head, and he lived on the tree called *Cabatos*, but is now a star in the heavens. Others were changed into birds, which ruled the rains and tempests. When first discovered, the Charaibes were, like the Indians, of a melancholy temperament, and indolent constitution; attached to their soil, and mode of life; and, possessing no disquieting desire of gain, they thought of no provision for the future. In their habits of living they were filthy and disgusting. Although cannibals, the novelty of the sight inspired an idea, that the flesh of their Christian visitors would poison them: this squeamishness, however, soon wore off; for, says La Borde, "ils ont néanmoins mangé encore depuis un an le cœur de quelque Anglois." Such prisoners as they took in war they compelled to fast for a day before they devoured them; and in these foraging expeditions, they consumed six thousand natives of Porto Rico in the short space of twelve years. Martyr particularizes their preference of the arms to any other part of the body; and Benzo says that, so

* See Note XVII.

late as the year 1551, when he was in the West Indies, most of the Windward Islands were still in the undisturbed possession of the Charaibes: "qui humanis carnibus, id est hostium, vesci consuêverunt." It would seem, therefore, that it was not mere wanton appetite which induced this savage brutality, but a spirit of exterminating spleen, indulged alike by all the continental tribes, who, as Hennepin declares, "only used human flesh in cases extraordinary, to wit, when they are resolved utterly to root out a nation."

Their national arms were a bow, arrow, and club: their arrows were poisoned with the sap of the Mancinelle*, a tree so named by the Spaniards, from an incision in whose bark distils a milky fluid of most deadly character: fibres, dipt in this liquid, were attached to the arrow's point: and the Spaniards felt the effects of this poison in their attempts to enslave these warlike people. Many were the reputed antidotes which they had recourse to, and at length they conceived they had discovered one in the leaves of the tobacco plant. The discovery was announced in Spain with all the éclat which the savage desire of capturing these poor wretches with impunity could inspire. Even Philip was eager to try the experiment; but the dogs provided to satisfy his royal curiosity proved the fallibility of the pretended specific †.

* See Note XVIII.

† Monardes. Hist. Med. Novi Orbis.

Another poison used by the Charaibes was extracted from a plant called *liane*, or *bejuque*; the effective strength of which they tried by rubbing a little upon a pointed stick, and dipping it into fresh-drawn blood: if the blood did not instantly coagulate, further concentration was effected by repeated boiling *. Bancroft speaks of a similar poison in South America, on which he made many curious experiments; observing that, when too dry on the arrow's point, they moistened it with lime juice, which restored its activity, and caused it instantly to arrest the circulation of the blood by a general concretion †.

The Charaibean bow was made of the *prasuncum ligum*, and every way adapted to its warlike service. The great obstacle to the civilisation of these people, was their perfect freedom and natural independence, which would not permit them to brook even the authority of a parent; and we are assured by La Borde, that, in some respects, they were mere brutes. Their common food was cassaya, crabs, fish, and birds—all highly seasoned with pimento;—crabs and lizards, however, they never partook of when on the eve of any of their predatory expeditions—entertaining an idea that, as these animals always remain at home, those who ate them would be prevented from reaching another land. Their principal household utensils consisted of the calabash,

* Gumilla.

† Naturgeschichte von Guiana, p. 182.

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and a vessel made of baked clay, formed like the Indian pots, but called a *canary*. Supplying provisions for all the men constituted the sole and slavish occupation of the women, who were treated with every indignity, and subjected to every abuse. Their ordinary beverage was the fermented juice of the cassava, and sweet potatoe, which they called *ouicou;* and of this they drank to excess. They also had a liquor, like the atolle of Mexico, of thick consistence, and composed of maize and flour, seasoned with sugar and spices.

The Charaibes were generally well made, strong, healthy, and sometimes even handsome; with olive complexions, long black hair; and disfigured only, like the Indians, by an unnatural compression of the head in infancy. They were destitute of clothing; but wore round their necks an amulet of greenstone, which they described as coming from far distant lands. Their contempt of the precious metals was remarkable; and whenever these poor wretches felt the deprivations which their Spanish persecutors subjected them to, they attributed all their suffering to the hated metal which had brought them thither.

Gage thus mentions his first rencontre with the Charaibes: "We could not but wonder at that sight, never yet seen by us, of people naked, with their hair hanging down to the middle of their backs, with their faces cut out in several fashions, or flowers; with their plates hanging at their noses, like hogs'

rings; and fawning upon us like children, some speaking in their unknown tongue, others using signs," &c. &c *.

But we have little to do with the Charaibes, further than to note that they were a race of men totally distinct from the Indian natives of Jamaica, against whom they waged a perpetual and sanguinary war.

* See Note XIX.

Chapter V.

The Decline and Revival of the Spirit of Navigation and Commerce, as it was connected with the Progress of Events which led to the Discovery of America.

History and experience alike concur in establishing the fact, that there have been certain eras of the world remarkably propitious to the success of particular arts and undertakings. The fifteenth century, which polished away scholastic rust, and revived the literature of Greece and Rome, was singularly favourable also to the arts of navigation and commerce.

Arabia had been the cradle of infant trade; and there the figures, by which its calculations are made, were invented. The Ninevites conveyed the spices of Arabia and the corn of Egypt to the Euphrates and the Tigris; and planted stations there for the maintenance of their traffic on the Red Sea. It is not perhaps far wide of historical truth, therefore, if we place the birth of commerce about eighteen hundred years before the Christian era. It was soon extended by the colonies which the flourishing stations on the Arabian Gulf sent forth to the ports of the Mediterranean; and especially to the commercial mouths of the Nile. The narrow isthmus of Suez, and the nearest branch of the Delta, proved rather an excitement to industry, than an obstruction to trade;

and, as colonies were pushed westward, the spirit of commerce was roused by the consequent necessity of making longer voyages to fetch the riches of the East. From the fertile soil of Egypt, the shores of the Mediterranean soon became colonised, to the pillars of Hercules; these emigrants carrying with them the literature and civilisation of the mother country to Tyre, Sidon, Carthage, and Cadiz; to Attica and Marseilles; to Magna Græcia, to Rome, and finally to the widest extent of that vast empire.

But the commerce of the East, which had thus, for so many ages, flourished successively under the mighty influence of the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, and the Romans, after the decline of the
A.D. 364. latter stupendous power, fell almost exclusively into the hands of the wandering Arabs; whose camels, loaded with the rich productions of Persia and Hindostan, annually pursued their route through the Holy Land, and across the sandy deserts of Nubia and Arabia. But when their empire became divided under the Khalyfs of Egypt and of Bagdad, they relinquished the Oriental trade to the more powerful merchants of Persia, and to the Turk and Tartar traders. Still the Arabs remained poets and philosophers; and the arts which minister to the convenience and luxury of life were known only in the east, and at Constantinople.

After the fall of the western empire,
A.D. 476. when all Europe was exposed to the

ravages of the Goths and Vandals, little time was afforded to the projects of commerce, or the adventures of navigation. Charlemagne made a feeble attempt to establish himself upon the Mediterranean; but the Normans, descending with barbarous fury into the south, surprised
A.D. 774. the kingdom of Naples, conquered Sicily, and annihilated all his views in that quarter.

Spain, it is true, flourished under the Ommiades more than in any former or later period. The active genius of the Arabs was still employed in war, science, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and while the Mussulmans preserved the light of science, Europe was sinking deeper into ignorance, barbarism, and superstition. The destruction of the Caliphate of Spain, the overthrow of the Arabs there, and their expulsion from Sicily, were the preludes to the great enterprise of the crusades; those execrable wars, falsely honoured with an
A.D. 1096. holy title, which plunged the south of Europe and the Levant into such inextricable confusion, as obliterated all thought of commercial speculation, and almost extinguished literature itself.

The inhabitants of the rocks of Genoa and of the marshes of Venice, during this long interval of inactivity, were the only people of Europe who sought —first, a subsistence, and then wealth and power, in the useful employments of trade and navigation. Under their partial auspices, the northern countries

were scantily supplied with the rich productions of the East, through the towns of Caffa and Astracan. When the latter was destroyed by Tamerlane, the Venetians made Alexandria their *entrepôt*; while the Genoese maintained themselves in those towns which they had captured from the Greeks. They were even led, perhaps by a glimmering light from Greece, to attempt the discovery which two hundred years afterwards amazed the world; Fedisia Doria and Ugolino Vivaldi sailed for the purpose of discovering strange countries in the west, but they were never heard of more.

A.D. 1399.

When the Turks overturned the empire of Constantinople, Mahomet II. seized upon Caffa, and destroyed all their establishments upon the Euxine. Like their rivals, the Venetians, they were then compelled to resign all the advantages of Oriental commerce to such nations as might be rich and strong enough to assume them: and the two powers, which had so long been the sole masters of all the treasures of the east, soon became little more than pilots to the succeeding adventurers.

A.D. 1453.

Such had been the history, and such was the state, of commerce in Europe, when the mariner's compass became known: an event which cannot be traced up to the beginning of the fifteenth century, but floats upon a period of nearly fifty years; for the culpable negligence of historians has left us entirely in the dark both as to its inventor, and the age in

which he lived. About the year 1415, however, the spirit of discovery first began to show itself in Portugal. The commotions which had so long disturbed the west of Europe were now allayed; the Moors had been nearly subjugated; and tranquillity was sufficiently restored, to admit of the re-establishment of commercial intercourse, and the speculations of scientific navigation. John I. reigned in Portugal, and Prince Henry, his third son, by the daughter of John, Duke of Lancaster, nobly jealous of the fame which the Venetians had acquired in their commerce with the East, conceived the proud design of outstripping all competitors, by opening an easier route thither round the southern extremity of the unexplored continent of Africa. He had accompanied his father to the siege of Ceuta; and on his return, this ambitious project, which, in the event, produced the discovery of a new hemisphere, occupied all his attention. The gratitude of posterity has, therefore, with great justice, placed upon the head of this scion of Britain's stock, the naval crowns of all his successful disciples. Not content with the knowledge he gained from science, the prince drew much information from the experienced seamen of Venice, whom he tempted into his service; seeking instruction also from the Moors of Fez, and the mariners of Morocco. From such genuine sources of information, he acquired a knowledge of the Arabs who traverse the vast deserts of Africa and Assena; and that he might devote himself en-

tirely to his favourite pursuit, he chose his residence at Tercenabal, near Cape Sagres, from whence he beheld that unexplored ocean which inflamed his eager hopes, and over whose waves he anxiously watched the progress of his adventurous caravels. The discovery of Cape Non had been effected about thirty years before that period; but its tempestuous terrors were still the term of Spanish navigation. The tremendous surge which breaks upon Cape Bojador—the promontory of Siloe, of Sataspes—had alarmed all previous adventurers. The prince, however, true to the inspiration of his own genius, perceived their error; and, by his powerful mandate, urged his caravels to double this terrific cape. Then, to add new spirit to his enterprise, he sought and obtained, from Pope Martin V., a donation of all the territories which he might discover between it and the East Indies. Thus encouraged, and armed with such power, his vessels moved along the shores of that sandy desert, which, for a thousand miles, drinks the waters of the Atlantic: they explored the mighty rivers of the Senegal and the Gambia; and from the fertile and populous banks of these they still advanced slowly towards the south. But lassitude and suspense abated their ardour: so that the Sierra Leone formed the most remote discovery of this adventurous prince, who, in the labour of forty years, did not attain even the extent of Hanno's navigation.

The Canaries had, however, emerged from the

darkness of the middle ages, and the vessels of Portugal were driven by the winds, or guided by the compass, to the more distant isles of Madeira. Henry's ardour increased with every discovery, and was inspired by every success. He attached the Azores, in the year 1448, and the Cape de Verd Islands, in the following year, to the possessions of his father's crown; while his own commercial profits were as great as his utmost ambition could desire. The settlement of Madeira had been rapid and useful; large quantities of cedar and rosewood were exported; the sugar-canes which he introduced, surpassed, in the richness of their production, those of Cyprus and Sicily; while the vines of Candia derived a new flavour from the virgin soil and genial climate of more southern latitudes. A plentiful fishery atoned, in some degree, for the barrenness of the continental desert. Arquin was enriched by the inland trade; and the land of the negroes afforded a fair promise of gold dust, ivory, and slaves. But this father of modern navigation lived not to witness the completion of the object nearest his heart. It was not until the year 1486 that the spirit of enterprise which he had thus inspired, became sufficiently matured to carry the Portuguese as far as the Cape of Good Hope: nor until eleven years afterwards, that it was doubled by Vasquez de Gama, who succeeded, for the first time, in modern navigation, at least, in that formidable attempt.

The discoveries of the Portuguese were thus the

slow effect of time and industry; and having now formed a new and more independent route to the Indies, they soon diverted the commerce of the East from Alexandria and Venice to Lisbon. Yet they still perceived not the vast importance of the Cape they had discovered. They passed a thousand times by its shores, still unoccupied, and never thought of settling there. The fame of the discovery, pregnant as it was with the commerce of the East, excited the emulation of all scientific navigators in every country of Europe. Although effected rather by perseverance, than with the aid of any real knowledge in navigation, yet it roused universal inquiry, and drew attention to the slumbering hope of finding a western passage to the Indies, as the Portuguese had thus opened an eastern one. The uncertainty as to the possible length of such a voyage held them long in suspense; yet they rightly conjectured that, if the Portuguese, by sailing in an eastern direction, had come to the western coast of Asia, they, by sailing west, might hope to arrive at its eastern shores. They had but faint ideas of meeting with a continent in their course: the suspicions of the ancients as to the existence of such a world, and which were founded but on obscure traditions, or the reasonings of philosophy, then but in its infancy, were motives too weak to engage the most hazardous in so great an undertaking.

Providence, however, which regulates the order of events, assembled, in this favourable moment of

rising expectation and increasing enterprise, many presumptive proofs of a western continent, which refreshed curiosity, strengthened conjecture, and were, at length, established almost as conclusive evidences of the fact. Such, for instance, was the circumstance of Pedro Correa having observed, in the island of Puerto Santo, a piece of wood strangely wrought, together with an unknown species of cane, cast ashore by a westerly wind; and the inhabitants of the Azores found two extraordinary canoes wrecked on their coasts by the same prevailing storms. These and similar incitements to the spirit of research, which seem to have been necessary, at this precise period, to animate courage, and point to an object which was pregnant with more extraordinary events than the world had witnessed since the Deluge, deserve to be recorded and consecrated in the lasting memory of man.

The thirty years which elapsed between the death of Prince Henry and the expedition of Columbus were not idly spent: they opened an extensive field of theory and practice. The study of the ancient classics had been partially revived; and many lettered Greeks, who fled from the Turkish arms, assisted in the literary search. The manuscripts which they had saved, or which were discovered in old libraries, were quickly diffused and multiplied by the useful invention of printing; while the original text of Pliny, and the Latin versions of Herodotus and Strabo were edited at Rome and

Venice*. The circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians and the Persians, by Hanno and Eudoxus, had thus become the favourite theme of conversation; and these doubtful tales served to kindle the ardour and promote the discoveries of the modern Argonauts. A planisphere was delineated in the convent of Murano at Venice †, and marine charts were drawn by experienced Italian artists; the rude invention of the astrolabe assisted, and the outline of ancient knowledge clearly pointed out the field of inquiry.

The first individual, however, who evinced sufficient intelligence, or possessed the necessary ability, to combat the remaining prejudices of the age, was Christopher Columbus: a man, till then, so little known, that posterity have never yet agreed as to his extraction, or the place of his birth—points of doubt which even his own children were unable to elucidate ‡. Some assert that he was the son of a wool-carder of Cogureto, a village in the territory of Genoa, and fix his birth in the year 1442. He assured a Spanish lady, however, in a letter which is cited by his son, that he was not the first admiral in his family. Jealousy, inspired by his extraordinary success, soon raised many reports, which the envious enemies of his glory industriously published, to diminish his fame. Time has, however, swept these

* See the Greek and Latin Bibliothecæ of Fabricius; and the Annales Typographiæ of Mattaire.

† See Note XX. ‡ See Note XXI.

away, and posterity has done him ample justice, by establishing the fact, that he availed himself of no other previous information than what he derived from the obscure opinions of the ancients, enlightened by recent corroborating accidents. These aids, sustained by correctness of reasoning, and strengthened by natural bravery, were his only guides in an enterprise as full of difficulties, as it was pregnant with extraordinary events. Its complete success has raised him far above all rivals, and justly rendered his memory immortal; for, in adventuring across the Atlantic, he plunged headlong into an unknown sea of darkness, and struggled hard against dangers and despair; while the merit of his rivals is abated by the previous inspirations of hope and knowledge. The discoveries of Columbus were, in short, the efforts of rare genius and persevering courage.

It is by no means clear, though we have a life of Columbus written by his son, and collected partly from his own manuscripts, at what period that navigator first entertained thoughts of seeking countries, a knowledge of whose existence had been so long lost. It seems, however, to have been early in his life; for his own notes prove that he had already undertaken several voyages with a view of fixing his notions upon this speculative subject. When at length he had thoroughly methodised his scheme, and rendered it, as he conceived, both practical in its operation, and probable in its result, he proposed it to the

A.D. 1482. state of Genoa. His proposals were rejected; for that expiring mart of oriental commerce was already occupied in a trade more extensive than it possessed the means to manage; and its merchants were afraid of launching out into speculations so new and unpromising. Columbus then made an offer of his services to the king of Portugal, who was much too wise a prince not to discern the benefit which might arise from such discoveries as he projected, or the strength of those arguments which were urged to prove that the design was feasible. He therefore appointed commissioners to treat with the adventurer; but they, having basely succeeded, as they conceived, in drawing from him his valuable secret, advised the king, while they entertained Columbus with deceptive hopes, to fit out a ship, which, under colour of going to the Cape de Verd islands, might traitorously attempt the execution of what he had proposed. The issue of their basely-contrived scheme was, however, as unfortunate as its origin was dishonourable; and the fraud coming to the ears of Columbus, he was so disgusted with the perfidy, that he immediately determined to quit Portugal, and seek patronage in some more generous Court.

A.D. 1484. It was towards the close of the year 1484, that he resolved upon going into Spain; and it was in the next succeeding year that he sent his brother Bartholomew into England, where Henry VII. had just ascended the throne. A man could scarcely

be more unfortunate than was Bartholomew Columbus in this expedition: he was taken by pirates, abused as a captive, and chained to the oar as a slave. Making his escape, however, he found means to reach London; yet in so deplorable a condition, that he wanted both the energy and the means to pursue the design which brought him there. He applied himself to the art of drawing marine charts. Discovering more than ordinary skill in cosmography, he succeeded in attracting the notice of the king, and he at length obtained admission to the royal presence.

A.D. 1488. On the 13th February, 1488, he presented a map of the world of his own projecting; and this accident led to a negotiation in behalf of his brother*. The king esteemed the man so much, and liked his scheme so well, that they came to a mutual understanding before Christopher had accomplished his purposes in Spain: though, by a new series of cross accidents, in which England's genius bore a part, Bartholomew was not able to convey the account of his success to his brother, until the American islands were actually discovered, and attached to the crown of Spain †. As we have these facts from the son of Christopher Columbus, the authority cannot be doubted; and the very map drawn by Bartholomew was preserved till the reign of Elizabeth.

Thus, it would appear, if the earliest agreement

*. See Note XXII.

† See Hakluyt—Purchas—and Harris's Collection.

with the agent of the Discoverer has any claim to priority, that we have as good a title as the Spaniards to the discovery of America. Henry VII. has been condemned for the delay which lost us the credit of it; but he may be excused, for at that moment his hands were full. The attempt of Perkin Warbeck—the expedition to Scotland—his breach with France, and his voyage thither, all occurred during the pending negotiation of Columbus. The assiduity of that Monarch in promoting commerce, was soon after manifested by his letters-patent to Hugh Elliott and Thomas Ashurst, merchants of Bristol, for the settlement of colonies on the shores of America*. And considering the probable issue of the discovery, had it been effected by British shipping, it does not indeed appear that we have been the sufferers by allowing the Spaniards to have the start of us. If we had first settled the shores of America, we might, perhaps, have pursued a more moderate course than they did; but it is more than probable that we should have been intoxicated as they were. Their country contained thirteen millions of souls before they discovered America; and in the year 1747, the number was reduced to little more than seven millions,—so soon did the mines of America convert the fertile fields of Spain into uncultivated and dreary wastes. Portugal also suffered a lamentable diminution of inhabitants by her intercourse with the New World: for, within

* Rymer's Fœdera, v. xiii., p. 37.

the same periods, her population sunk from three millions to less than two; and the drain which would have been opened from England by the melting heat of the American climes, the enticing luxuriance of the soil, and the wild wealth of the mines, would, more than probably, have enfeebled all the native genius and honest industry of Great Britain. The Spaniards purchased Mexico and Peru at too high a price—no less than that of their naval superiority; while we remain far richer in the increase of our manufactures, the stability of our trade, and the enterprising spirit of our merchants and mariners.

While Bartholomew Columbus was endeavouring to execute his mission at the court of London, his brother was advocating his cause with that of Spain, where he sought such persons of distinction as he conceived most likely to dispose their Catholic Majesties to a favourable reception of his extraordinary proposals. Accordingly, Hernand de Talavera, the prior of Prado, and confessor to the queen, received an order to assemble a council of cosmographers to confer with him. The process was so tedious, and the result so unfavourable, that after having wasted nearly five years in uselessly combating the prejudices of ignorance on the one hand, and the objections of pedantry on the other, the only answer he received was, that the war with Grenada, in which the king was engaged, forbade his incurring fresh expenses; but that when it should be terminated, he might hope to surmount the difficulties which opposed

A.D. 1489. the project *. Columbus now lost all hope; he was advanced in years, and his valuable time was lost in fruitless discussions, and fatiguing anxiety. Restless and impatient, he took the road to Seville; making overtures to the powerful nobles as he passed. Finding universally the same obstacles to the accomplishment of his project, he addressed a letter to the King of France; but that Monarch was occupied in the Italian wars. Then again he turned his thoughts to England; and although so many years had elapsed without any tidings of his brother there, he determined upon a voyage in search of him. Yet he wished first to embrace his son Diego, who was left in the Franciscan convent of La Rabida, near Palos, and whom he desired to place with his family at Cordova. Although historians are silent upon the subject, it seems probable that he had married a second wife during his protracted stay in that town, and that this was his second son.

The superior of La Rabida, John Perez de Marchena, heard, with regret, the determination of Columbus to bestow his services on a foreign power; and urged him to delay his departure. With the assistance of some friends who possessed considerable influence at court, this ecclesiastic obtained from Isabella what had been denied to the importunate intreaties of the most favoured courtiers. He addressed her at Santa Fé, during the siege of Grenada; and Columbus was summoned to the court,

* See Note XXIII.

where he immediately obtained an audience. The queen, however, considered his pretensions excessive, and his demands extravagant:—for, with pardonable vanity, he required to be made admiral, and hereditary viceroy of the territories which he might discover. But the fact was, Isabella feared the reproach of credulity which might attach to the confidence she placed in the fair promises of a foreign adventurer, should he fail in performing them; and she therefore thus declined his services.

This new disappointment, although it was softened by expressions of esteem, and marked by unusual condescension, determined Columbus absolutely to quit Spain. But ere he departed, his friends, Quintanilla, Santangel, and the Father Marchena, procured him an audience of the Cardinal of Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo, and president of the queen's council. The honour of the interview was, however, all he gained. He offered from his shallow purse to bear an eighth of the attendant expenses; but even this generous proposal was refused, and he quitted Santa Fé in January 1492, to proceed to Cordova, where he purposed making his arrangements for a voyage to England.

At this juncture Grenada opened its gates to the victorious Spaniards, and Santangel eagerly embraced the lucky moment to show to the queen her error in neglecting the proffered opportunity of augmenting the power and splendour of her Castilian crown; while she left the achievement to a foreign

state, where it would be improved, to the probable destruction of the marine strength of Spain. So powerfully did he advocate the cause of his friend, that the queen yielded, and at length became an enthusiast. She even declared her resolution to pawn her jewels, for the purpose of replenishing her drained coffers to fit out the expedition. Santangel, in the generous excess of his joy, replied that such a sacrifice was unnecessary, and that his own purse should supply the deficiency. Columbus was immediately recalled: he eagerly flew to the court, and the flattering reception he met with effaced all the vexation he had endured during eight years of fruitless solicitation. Don Juan de Colonna, the secretary of state, received an order to expedite the necessary papers, by which their majesties conferred even greater privileges than Columbus had required *. These celebrated deeds, which extended their dominion into a new hemisphere, were signed, the one at Santa Fé, and the other at Grenada, at that auspicious moment, when, after a domination of eight hundred years, the Moors were finally subdued, and Spain was freed from their bitter yoke. The manly virtues of Isabella, and the profound policy of Ferdinand executed the grand project of delivering their dominions from the Infidels. The Moors of Grenada defended their last possession with obstinate valour, and stipulated, by their capitulation, the free exercise of the Mahometan religion. It was the happy result of a ten

* See Note XXIV.

years war—a proud moment for Spain, pregnant as it was with the fate of another world.

It is worthy of remark that the crown of Arragon took no part in the enterprise of Columbus. The documents, it is true, were all drawn in the joint names of Ferdinand and Isabella; but as Castile bore the entire expenditure, America was discovered, and conquered for her alone. Accordingly we find that, as long as the Queen lived, permission to emigrate, and settle there, was granted solely in her name, and scarcely to any others than Castilians.

Here then the first blush of morning dawns upon the long night of the New World; and from this moment the scale of events becomes subservient only to the regular succession of years. Columbus received his letters, which insured him assistance, and respect from all the courts of the world: and his only restraint was an interdiction from approaching within one hundred leagues of the conquests of Portugal. Having passed a short time in Cordova, he went to Palos, a port long reputed for the experience of its mariners; and there he found the preparations for his equipment already commenced. Marchena's zeal was undiminished; it had engaged in his service all the best seamen there; and, amongst the number, two wealthy brothers, named Pinçons—experienced navigators, who embarked a considerable portion of their wealth in the expedition.

The town of Palos was, at that time, compelled to equip two caravels to guard the coast, during two

months in the year: these were transferred to the service of Columbus, who provided another at his own charge, and named her the Santa Maria. Of the Palos caravels, one was the Pinta, commanded by Martin Alfonzo Pinçon; and the other the Nina, under Vincent Yanes Pinçon. The three vessels were manned by ninety-six seamen and volunteers; victualled for twelve months, and sailed on
A.D. 1492. Friday, the 3rd of August, 1492. An accident, which happened to the Nina, delayed their arrival at the Canaries until the 11th; when they repaired the damage, and pursued their course. It was upon the 7th of September that this little fleet lost sight of land; and at ten o'clock in the dark night of the 10th of October, after enduring hardships, and suffering indignities from his mutinous crew, sufficient to daunt the most adventurous courage and to make the stoutest heart despair, Columbus first discovered, from his round-house, a distant fire gleaming over the bosom of the deep, which day-light proved had proceeded from some unknown land.

Thus the great captain of the fleet himself obtained the annuity of two thousand maravedis, which had been promised to the first discoverer of land; and which were paid to him during his life, from the butcheries of Seville. Triana, one of his inferior officers, who saw the land about two o'clock in the morning, and before his commander had thought it expedient to publish his prior discovery, was so dis-

appointed at the loss of the anticipated reward, that he fled to Africa, and abjured his faith*.

Armed with vice-regal authority, Columbus immediately named this first-discovered land, San Salvador, and took possession of it in the name of their Catholic Majesties. The natives called it *Guanahani*, and gave him to understand that they were environed by many other Islands under the name of *Lucayos*,—an appellation which has been continued to all those which lie to the north-west of the Great Antilles. Seven leagues to the southward he approached another island, which he called La Conception; and passing by one which received the name of his monarch, he descried a fourth, called by the natives *Saamoto*, but on which he conferred the name of his illustrious patroness, Isabella. Thence continuing his southern course, he discovered eight islets, called by him the Isles d'Arena; and on the twenty-seventh day, that is, seventeen days after the first discovery of land, he perceived a vast tract of country, over whose shores arose high and distant mountains. From the inhabitants he learnt that the name of this land was *Cuba*, a name which it has ever since retained, although he would have changed it for that of Juana. On the 3rd of December, after having passed nearly the whole of the previous month in visiting various parts of the island, and es-

*. Benzo, p. 27.

tablishing a friendly intercourse with the astonished Indians, he reached its Eastern point; and obstructed by strong currents, eight days were occupied in standing across the channel which divides it from *Hayti:* the features of which appearing, at first sight, somewhat to resemble those of Spain, he named it Espagnole. There, in the bay of St. Thomas, he remained a few days, receiving visits from the Caciques, and bartering his European trinkets for the ornamental plates of gold which were worn by the natives. A little farther to the eastward, he built a fort, which he called Navidad.

But his attention was now turned to another object, deeply affecting his fame. Alfonzo Pinçon deserted him, for the ungenerous purpose of conveying the first intelligence of success to Spain, and robbing him of the bright honours he had so hardly earned. Columbus, therefore, deemed it expedient to leave Diego d'Arana, and thirty-eight of his most effective men in the new colony, where he had already propitiated the neighbouring Caciques, and established a friendly commerce with their subjects. On the 4th of January he took his leave of them, and after experiencing cross-currents and tempestuous weather, made the rock of Cintra on the 4th of March.—On Friday, the 15th, he entered the port of Palos.

Thus, in the short space of eight months, he, with unexampled industry and rare success, completed an enterprise regarded by the world as visionary; and which he had himself considered as the

probable labour of many years. A New World was at once opened to the studious, as well as to the active part of mankind; and the most original, perhaps the most curious, portion of the history of human manners was exposed to view. His unlooked for return was celebrated by those demonstrations of joy and gratitude which such an event was calculated to inspire. Astonishment would hardly permit the Spaniards to think it real; and a voyage to the moon would have been little less credible. The tale of the perfidious Pinçon was not believed. Although he arrived before Columbus, he had been refused an audience, and eventually died of chagrin and disappointed ambition *. The admiral hastened to Seville, accompanied by seven Indians who had voluntarily returned with him, and followed by the rich rarities which he had collected during his short stay in the New World. The impatience of the court to behold the extraordinary discoverer was so urgent, that he received a letter from their Majesties, addressed to "Don Christopher Columbus, Admiral on the Ocean, Viceroy and Governor of the Islands discovered in the Indies." He instantly obeyed the royal summons; and was magnificently entertained at Barcelona, where the court was then held.

A triumphant escort announced his approach to the palace: in the splendid procession marched the seven islanders, the noblest ornaments of his tri-

* Life of Columbus, ch. 41.

umph—forming, as they did, a constituent part of it. Next appeared to the gaze of the wondering multitude, the Indian crowns, and glittering plates of gold: these, not the fruits of violence, or the spoils of the victorious soldier, but the free-will offerings of the several caciques whose services he had both merited and rewarded. Then were exhibited branches, twenty-five feet high, filled with paroquets, the vaunted syrens of the ancients; with balls of cotton, and with caskets of pimento, the precious rival of the Eastern grain. Such was
A.D. 1493. the pomp with which Columbus traversed the principal streets of Barcelona to the royal audience, where was assembled the most brilliant court which Spain had ever witnessed. Blessings were showered upon his head—honours and rewards were heaped upon him; while every species of festivity was gratuitously opened, and a display of ecclesiastical pomp and royal munificence everywhere spread their richest attractions, to render his reception worthy of his unexampled success.

Although their Majesties had nothing more at heart than the speedy return of their new admiral to those promising regions whence they hoped to reap so rich an harvest, yet a courtly etiquette required that the reigning Pontiff should be informed of the extended limits of that world over which he claimed a sovereign sway; and they were aware that, by such a line of conduct, they might also conciliate the Holy See, while, at the same time, they

risked nothing in the concession: for Alexander VI. in settling the disputes concerning the crown of Arragon, had his hands too full to enable him to take any active advantage of the discovery *. Ferdinand, therefore, charged his ambassadors to assure that Pope (the Tiberius of Christian Rome), that the expedition which was made under his orders, should not prejudice the rights of the crown of Portugal; and that his admiral had faithfully observed his instructions, not to approach within one hundred leagues of the possessions of that power. But, for the interests of that religion, which it was his desire to extend with the limits of his empire, he prayed for the authority of bulls. The Pope sent two, which were executed on 2d and 3d of May, 1493; and contained the same conditions as his predecessors had judged necessary in those which had been granted on similar occasions to the kings of Portugal. But to prevent any possible disputes between the two crowns, he assigned what was called "the line of demarcation;" by which he regulated their respective limits in such countries as were already known, as well as in those which might eventually be discovered, and have been taken possession of by no Christian prince before Christmas day in the preceding year. This imaginary line was modestly drawn from one pole to the other, cutting in two equal portions the space between the Azores and the Cape de Verd Islands †, and leaving all towards the west

* Herrera. † See Note XXV.

and south to the crown of Castile, while all to the eastward was apportioned to that of Portugal.

These futile acts of papal presumption reached Spain at the moment when Columbus had prepared every thing for his return to the Indies. He had already received his instructions, and taken his last audience of leave. Having obtained permission to place his two sons at court, in quality of pages; at Seville he joined his fleet, composed of seventeen vessels, well equipped, and provided with all that such an expedition might suggest; particularly instruments for the use of the mines, horses, and the seeds of all the most useful European plants. Fifteen hundred volunteers, amongst whom was numbered the flower of the Spanish nobility, accompanied the admiral in this expedition: their passions inflamed by the prospect of wealth, and the animating views of certain glory.

On the 25th of September this splendid fleet went down the Guadalquiver, and sailed from the bay of Cadiz. On the 5th of the following month, it entered the port of Gomera, to receive a supply of calves, goats, sheep, hogs and poultry: whence the origin, observes Herrera, of all those animals with which America now abounds. Sailing again on the 7th, the admiral held a more southerly course than during his last voyage, until the 24th, when he calculated that he had run four hundred and fifty leagues. On Sunday, the 3d of November, he descried land, and named it, from that circumstance,

Dominique: though some authors have erroneously confounded it with St. Domingo. He perceived other islands to the north and north-west; one of them he named Marigalante, after his own vessel; and on the following morning fulfilled his promise to the convent of Guadaloupe, by conferring its name on the next island he came to: the inhabitants of which told him of many others to the south; some peopled, and others deserted; which they respectively called *Borriquen, Giaramachi, Cairoaco, Huino, Buriani, Arubeira,* and *Sixiboi;* with a continent which they named *Quarica.* They also informed him that the king of Guadaloupe was then gone upon an expedition through the neighbouring isles, for the purpose of capturing men for food. From these canibals the Spaniards obtained some intelligence of their course to Hispaniola. Coasting along the north-west shores of Guadaloupe, they discovered another island, which, from its resemblance to the lofty rocks of Notre Dame de Montserrat in Catalonia, they so named: and in succession, Columbus gave to the several islands he passed, the names of St. Maria de la Rodonde; Antigua; St. Christopher; San Martino; and Santa Cruz. To the largest of that cluster which then presented itself, he gave the name of St. Ursula; and to all the surrounding ones that of the Eleven Thousand Virgins; from the ancient tradition respecting that saint, and her extraordinary company of English ladies at Cologne.

After coasting along another island which the natives called Borriquen, now Porto Rico, but which he named St. John the Baptist, he anchored in one of its bays to refresh his weary mariners: and on the 22nd of November proceeded fifteen leagues further to the bay of Samana in Hispaniola. Three days afterwards, in sailing by Monte Christi, his suspicions were awakened as to the fate of the little colony he had left upon the island; and anchoring during the night of the 27th, in the offing of Puerto Real, his fears were but too well confirmed: for at day-light he discovered his fort in ruins, and was soon made acquainted with the miserable fate of all its intemperate inhabitants. They richly merited the death they met with; for their barbarous and wanton cruelties had justly provoked retribution at the hands of the oppressed natives. Yet the remembrance of the injuries which these artless Islanders had received, was soon effaced by the generous treatment of Columbus in whom they placed unbounded confidence.

He immediately selected a spot more to the eastward, called Puerto de Plata, on which to form a new establishment. There he commenced by the erection of a church; and laid out a plot of ground, which rapidly arose in streets and squares, under the name of Isabella. Having gained intelligence of the source whence the natives derived their gold, Ojeda was despatched into the interior in search of the mines, and soon returned richly laden with their

dazzling treasures: affording to the admiral the fortunate opportunity of transmitting to his Royal Mistress the first fruits of his expedition. He accordingly embarked them on board twelve ships, under the command of Torrez; reserving only five of the smaller vessels, with which to prosecute his discoveries.

Having established order in his infant colony, he determined on visiting the mines of Cibao himself; which he found about eighteen leagues from Isabella; there he built a small fortress, to which he gave the name of St. Thomas; in raillery of his companions, who would not believe the report of such riches as there displayed themselves, until with their own eyes they had beheld them. On his return, Columbus found the colony already suffering from the want of provisions; while the Castilian nobles who had embarked in the expedition, not doubting that they should reap a rich harvest without labour, began to evince symptoms of disorganization and discontent. Boyl, the chief missionary, fomented the discord, and basely took advantage of an hostile disposition which manifested itself amongst the Indians, whose suspicions were roused by these repeated visits to the mines. The decisive measures adopted by the admiral, quickly dissipated the bursting storm, and restored tranquillity to his little colony. The natives resumed their friendly intercourse, and were sincere in their artless efforts to merit the good will and assistance of their powerful

A.D. 1494.

visitors. The revolt of a nation so timid, so simple, as to be dispersed by the evolutions of a single horseman, promised no very serious result to the establishment.

Columbus formed a council of government composed of the repentant Boyl, Fernandez Cortoel, Sanchez de Carvagel, and John de Luxan, at the head of which he placed his brother Diego: and having given them his instructions, he quitted them on the 24th April, with two vessels, to prosecute his discoveries. His course was first westerly, by Monte Christi and Navidad; thence he passed the little island of Tortue; and contrary winds compelled him to seek shelter in the river which he named the Guadalquiver. On the 29th he again saw the island of Cuba, which the Indians now called Bayatiquiri: but which he now named Alpha and Omega *, because this name differed as widely from that which the same people had formerly given it, as those two letters did from each other. He then stood across the strait which separates the two islands, and coasting along the southern shores of Cuba, entered a deep bay called by him Puerto Grande. Quitting it on Sunday the 1st of May, he stood on in a south-easterly direction to reach an island whose faint outline he now first discovered bounding the southern horizon, and which the Indians told him was XAYMACA.

* Hist. Gén. des Voyages, tom. xviii. p. 49.

HERE then we must remain, abandoning the ulterior expeditions of the enterprising discoverer to pursue more particularly the narrative of events on this island, since become the source of so much wealth to individuals, and one of the brightest jewels in the British crown *

But as Jamaica was particularly attached to the family of Columbus, whose grandson received it from Charles V., in perpetual sovereignty, as a fief of the Castilian crown, it may be well to efface the vulgar error, that the English took it from his family in the person of a Duke of Veragua, by tracing their respective rights to it, until it was forfeited to the power which gave it, by their connexion with the Braganza family in the Portuguese revolution.

When preparing for his second voyage, Columbus had been offered by his sovereign the choice of a territory in Hispaniola, with the title of duke, or of marquis. He accepted neither; pretending that he should increase the jealous hatred of his envious enemies, who already persecuted him by every means which baseness could suggest, or power perpetrate. In consideration of his discovery of the promising islands of Jamaica and Cuba, the King afterwards released him from the contribution of an eighth share in the expenses of the expedition; allowing him that proportion of such treasures as he might obtain without any deduction; and he confirmed to him all the powers and immunities possessed by the admiralty

* See Note XXVI.

of Castile, although that royal department opposed the measure, as conferring privileges dangerously extensive. Yet the politic and perfidious Ferdinand, who owed the means of carrying on his enterprises, and even the government itself, to the vast and timely influx of wealth thus discovered, with unexampled ingratitude never fulfilled his royal promises; and these important services remained substantially unrequited to the last hour of the discoverer's life.

That monarch, who always covered his profound policy with the veil of religion, although often repugnant to the principles of justice, had, in fact, married Isabella, less from choice, than the need of her resources: and although she was faithfully disposed to keep her promises with her favourite Admiral, she had been unable to effect her purpose with her wary husband. All she obtained was a letter to Columbus, dated the 14th of March, 1502, in which the King thus expressed himself:—"We confirm all your privileges to you and to your children, and will put your eldest son in possession of all your appointments whenever you may require it*."

In the year 1504, however, Isabella died; and with her expired the last hopes of the neglected mariner. Her eldest daughter, the wife of Emmanuel, King of Portugal, was also dead; and the crown of Castile passed to Philip, Archduke of Austria, who had married her second daughter,

* Life of Columbus, v. ii., c. 25.

Jane. Columbus was now once again promised the fulfilment of all his claims, but died before the return of his brother Bartholomew with the happy intelligence. He was buried, according to the tenour of his will, in the monastery of the Chartreuse at Seville; and, according to the doubtful authority of Morreri, was afterwards carried to Hispaniola, and interred in the Cathedral of San Domingo there. Benzo is, however, silent as to this exhumation *.

Columbus had been twice married, according to the best information we have: although Morreri declares that Ferdinand was a natural son by Beatrice Henriques. There seems, however, greater reason to give credit to Oviedo, who was the intimate friend of Ferdinand; and who affirms that, by his first wife, Philippe Monniz Perestrello, who was the daughter of one of Prince Henry's captains, he had Diego, who was born in Portugal: and that Ferdinand was the issue of a second marriage with Beatrice Henriques. This second son, the author of the life of Columbus, embraced the sacred profession, and left to the Cathedral at Seville the large collection of books known by the name of the Colombine Library.

Diego now succeeded to the titles and appointments of his father, and obtained a greater right to the favourable consideration of his monarch by marrying Maria, the daughter of Ferdinand de Toledo, Grand Commandant of Leon, cousin-german to the King, and brother to the all-powerful Duke

* See Note XXVII.

D'Albe. From this noble alliance, and the eminent services of his father-in-law in the Neapolitan war, Diego had certainly just reason to expect a favourable issue to the long-pending suit of his family; but the greatest obstacle was in the wary jealousy of the king himself; who, after many subterfuges and evasive delays, yielded him his royal permission to resort to the common courts of law for the adjudication of his claims. There the chance of a single vote at length obtained for him a favourable decision. This sentence, supported by the solicitations of his father-in-law, and backed by the potent interest of the Duke D'Albe, produced the decree recalling Ovando from the government of Hispaniola, and substituting himself as governor-general: but still without the recognition of his promised title of Viceroy; although his wife, by her alliance with the blood royal, obtained that of Vicereine.

With a splendid equipage, and a numerous suite, they arrived at San Domingo in July 1509; where the presence of so many females, composing the retinue of the vicereine, gave to the rising colony a degree of eclat which the New World, till then, had never known *. Some coruscations of the courtly splendour fell upon the neighbouring Island of Jamaica, and shone for a time there in the rising town of Seville Nuevo.

It was in the month of November, in the same year, that the Governor-general nominated Jean

* See Note XXVIII.

d'Esquibel commandant of that island, till then unoccupied: and he seems to have done so rather with a view of settling a contested point between Ojeda and Nicuessa, than with any idea of its value to himself; though he afterwards took some pains in its settlement. He continued in his government (quitting it but once, between the years 1517 and 1520, in which latter year he returned with fuller powers) until 1526, when he died; leaving three sons and two daughters.

The eldest son, Louis, then only six years of age, succeeded to his father's just claims, and to his misfortunes; for though the Emperor Charles conferred many distinguished favours on him as a minor, he would never recognise his titles as a subject. On coming of age, he instituted a legal suit, as his father had done; but it never was brought to an issue: and in 1545 we find him residing in Hispaniola as admiral, but without any authority as governor*. About this period it was, that, tired with the vexatious delays of his long-pending suit, he agreed to renounce all his higher claims for the dukedom of Veragua, and the marquisate of La Vega; to which last was attached the perpetual, though poor, sovereignty of Jamaica; where La Vega, then an infant hamlet (borgata), was situated. The new capital did not rise so rapidly into repute as to be of sufficient consequence to afford a permanent title:—for it soon gave way to that of Marquis of Xaymaca.

* See Note XXIX.

In the year 1546 he sent Christopher Pega to subdue his ducal territories in Veragua: but the attempt was attended with such fatal unsuccess that he relinquished his claim to domains so wild, and so unconquerable *. Nor do we find that he bestowed much attention on his Jamaica Marquisate. He outlived his two brothers; and, dying without issue, his sister Isabella inherited his empty titles, and his fallen fortunes. We have seen that her grandmother was a Portuguese, and she connected herself again with that nation by her marriage with the Count de Gelvez, a branch of the Braganza family; by which foreign alliance she would have alienated her territorial rights, and titles, had not her maternal relationship to the blood royal of Spain still preserved them to her.

Philip II., in the year 1580, attached Portugal to the crown of Spain by means of the army under her uncle, the Duke D'Albe; and the sovereignty of Jamaica was thus confirmed to her family through the succeeding generations; and until the Spaniards, by attempting to compel the Portuguese to serve in their wars against Catalonia, provoked the revolt which in the year 1640 placed John, Duke of Braganza, upon the throne. This defection of the family in which she had carried, and left, the sovereignty of Jamaica, caused it to revert to the crown which had bestowed it, and from which the English captured it fifteen years afterwards.

* See Note XXX.

Its formal possession was conceded, and confirmed to England, by the seventh article of the treaty signed at Madrid in June 1670: for the partisans of royalty had raised doubts upon the point of its having been taken under the usurped authority of the Protector, whose lawless acts, they conceived, could not be sanctioned by the King's government. It was therefore expressly stipulated that "The King of Great Britain, his heirs, and successors, shall have, hold, and possess for ever, with full right of sovereign dominion, property, and possession, all lands, countries, islands, colonies, and dominions, whatever, situated in the West Indies, or any part of America, which the said King of Great Britain, and his subjects, do, at this present, hold and possess: so that in regard thereof, or upon any colour, or pretence whatever, nothing may, or ought, ever to be urged, nor any question or controversy moved concerning the same hereafter."

Chapter VI.

Subjugation of Jamaica by the Spaniards in the Year 1494.—Its condition from that period until it was captured by the British Forces in 1655.

We have traced the eventful progress of Columbus to the moment when he discovered Jamaica: a
A.D. 1494. distant view of whose lofty blue mountains he first obtained, on the morning of the 3d of May 1494, from the offing of a deep bay called by him Puerto Grande (now Puerto de St. Pedro) on the coast of Cuba. The Indian fishermen, who accompanied him, gave him to understand that the land he saw was called "Xaymaca;" a word implying, according to the received opinion of historians, an overflowing abundance of rivers: and therefore not, in that exclusive sense, at all applicable to this Island.

In the rise of human speech, a method must have been wanted, and sought, and found, of discriminating first between familiar persons, and then between common objects: for in every language the invention of proper names must have had the earliest origin. The primitive choice of every word must also have had a cause, and meaning: each name must have been derived from some accident or allusion, or quality of the object, mind, or body: and

the truth of this observation is attested by the Ancient World, from India to Spain; and by the New, from the lakes of Canada, to the mountains of Chili; where the titles of the savage chieftains announced their personal qualifications, their wisdom in the council, or their valour in the field.

We must therefore suppose that the word *Xaymaca* would probably denote the most obvious qualities of the land to which these Indian savages pointed: and so in fact it did; for in the speech of Florida, *chabaïan* signified water, and *makia*, wood*. The compound sound would approach to Chab-makia; and, harmonized to the Spanish ear, would be Chamakia, or some such indistinct union of these two significant expressions, denoting a land covered with wood, and therefore watered by shaded rivulets, or, in other words, fertile. Nor is this conclusion unsupported by example; for in the 10th chap. 7th verse Deuteronomy, Ιεταβαθα is said to be γην χειμαρρον ὑδατων, "a land of rivers of waters"; an expression familiar to the children of Israel as signifying *fruitful abundance*. Moses made use of the same words when he promised to bring them to the land of plenty: and the γην χειμαρρον ὑδατων aptly brought to their recollection the contrast between the land of Egypt, which was but periodically watered by a single river, and the promised territory which should be refreshed by abundant springs, and mountain showers.

* Lescarbot, l 6. c. 6.

Now this characteristic fertility of Jamaica was particularly noted by Columbus; who concurred with the Indians in distinguishing it, at first sight, from all the islands he had ever met with, as the most fertile. The same name might, it is true, have been applied in the same rude speech to any other luxuriant land, without assigning to it the literal meaning of "abounding in springs," which Jamaica in fact does not. And so we find it was applied in a case which puts it beyond a doubt that such was not its simple or exclusive signification: for, according to the testimony of Ferdinand Columbus, Antigua, an island little less fertile than Jamaica, though *without a single spring of water**, was called Xaymaca by its native Charaibes. This circumstance might seem to prove an affinity between the Indian and Charaibean languages: but it is more probable that Columbus obtained the name of Antigua from the same Indians who continued with him, and had applied it to Jamaica, and who would have applied the same expression to any other fertile land they saw. Indeed, it appears that the Indian language possessed few definite or proper names; for when Columbus first visited the shores of Cuba, the natives called the island by that name: but on his next voyage thither, they called it Bayatiquiri †.

* See Note XXXI.

† Hist. Gén. des Voyages, tom. xviii. p. 19. A late author gives to America one thousand two hundred and sixty four languages.

May 3, 1494. Approaching the shore in a south-west course from the eastern point of Cuba, he named the headland he first encountered, Santa Maria, from the name of his first ship. The numerous canoes which came off to meet him, gave Columbus the first intelligence that Jamaica was thickly inhabited: but some boats, which he would have sent in to obtain soundings in what is now called Port Maria, met with a large body of armed Indians, who seemed determined to oppose a landing. With no better success they attempted to effect their purpose of taking possession of the island in another harbour, which he called Ora Cabeca; and annoyed by such barbarity, several cannon, or arbalêtes, were discharged. The Indians, seeing some of their companions fall, became less daring; conciliation was the consequence, presents were interchanged, and the country was formally added to the acquisitions of the Spanish crown. Remaining amongst the astonished natives for the space of ten days, on the 18th the discoverers coasted along in a westerly direction; but a baffling wind obliged the admiral to stand across to Cuba; when he resolved upon ascertaining whether that large tract of country were an island, or a part of that continent which he was seeking.

On the 22d of the following month, while still cruising in boisterous weather, he again approached the shores of Jamaica from Cape de la Cruz in Cuba.

Then it was, that, according to Oldmixon, he gave to the island the name of St. Jago *, which that author says it has since retained in Jamaica, the augmentative of James. That he bestowed the appellation, might probably be the case; for St. Jago was the patron of Spain, and therefore very likely to have lent his name to the discovered land: especially as it was the war-cry of the Spaniards, who, being here, for the first time, opposed in their landing, had doubtless used it; but that it was retained in the shape of any Anglicism, is a gross mistake. Acosta called it Jamaycque, and Benzo, Jamaica, nearly a century before it was thought of by any English adventurers.

Columbus now again coasted along in the same direction as before: but a heavy swell forbad his landing. He ascertained, however, pretty accurately, the dimensions of the Isle, which he could not have effected had he not doubled the west end of it, and beat to windward along the south side. As it was on the 22nd of June that he made the land somewhere about Rio Bueno, and not until the Aug. 20, 1494. 20th of August that he reached San Miguel, now Cape Tiburon, it is very probable that during this interval of thirty-nine days, on which all historians are silent, he was employed in this survey; for he observes that, the weather continuing stormy, he cruised first in a westerly direction; when, other winds arising, he resolved to steer eastward, towards

* See Note XXXII.

Hispaniola. He had met with no encouragement to land, though he observed many excellent harbours, with every appearance of a vast population, and it was not until eight years afterwards that we hear any thing more of Jamaica.

A.D. 1502. On the 14th of July, 1502, Columbus on his fourth voyage, sailed from Port Yaquimo, now Aquin, near St. Louis, in Hispaniola, intending to pursue his course towards Terra-firma. He therefore again approached Jamaica: but contrary winds and strong currents drove him amongst the Archipelago called the Jardin de la Reyna, on the coast of Cuba; and eventually compelled him to take shelter in the little isle which the Indians called Guanaja, now the Isle of Pines.

Still no European settlement had been formed on these shores; nor was it till the following year that Columbus again, for the fourth time, bent his course hither. His visit was then one of compulsion. With his son and brother, and two ships, on his return from his disastrous expedition to Veragua, he was driven by foul weather to take shelter in the Indian settlement of Maxaca, on the southern coast of Cuba, where he imperfectly repaired his shattered vessels, and put to sea again. The leaks, however, increased, and in a sinking state he was forced from his course upon the northern shore of Jamaica; in an unfrequented spot where he could obtain neither water nor provisions. Once more, then, he was driven out to sea; and the trade-wind driving him

A.D. 1503.

down the coast to the westward, he presently perceived a shallow bay, which, with the gratitude of a storm-beaten mariner, he named Santa Gloria; and St. Ann's bay still marks the memorable spot. Here the exhausted seamen ran their sinking wrecks ashore to save themselves. Protected by a reef of rocks, the two vessels were lashed together with timbers, and an awning erected over the united decks afforded shelter to the weary crews *. The shore was quickly thronged by the astonished natives, who rushed down from a village on the neighbouring heights. They soon learnt, and supplied the wants of their visitors; and a little rivulet flowed past their stranded ships to allay their thirst. For a glass bead, the Indians gave a cake of cassava; and their most valued treasures were anxiously exchanged for a bell. The neighbourhood was fruitful, the inhabitants simple, friendly, and kind. Yet to preserve that harmony which was vital to the existence of the needy Spaniards, their admiral immediately established rigid regulations, and strict discipline. Finding that there remained no hopes of refitting his ships, he resolved upon acquainting Ovando, the governor of Hispaniola, with his wretched situation; and to desire Carvajal, his agent there, to send a vessel to his assistance with all speed. This, however, was an undertaking full of danger. Nearly two hundred leagues separated him from the capital of the Western Isles; and he had nothing but the

* See Herrera, and Life of Columbus, chap. 89.

frail canoes purchased from the natives, in which to attempt the desperate voyage. The little rock of Navasa could afford the only resting-place; and the course was directly against the prevailing wind. The case, however, was urgent; and Diego Mendez, the secretary to the squadron, undertook the enterprise; in which he was assisted by a Genoese named Fieski. These intrepid mariners embarked in two canoes, each furnished with six Castilians and ten Indians: Mendez instructed to make the best of his way to Spain with a Memorial to the King*; Fieski with orders to deliver a letter to Ovando, and to return quickly with such assistance as he could obtain from Carvajal.

Columbus accompanied them as far as the north-east point of the island, apprehending the hostility of the Indians in those districts which he had not visited. From thence they took their departure with the fervent prayers of their disconsolate comrades. In about five days they safely reached Cape Tiberon, after resting a few hours upon the barren rock of Navasa.

The admiral returned to Santa Gloria, where he was attacked with the gout, which confined him to his bed. Disease broke out amongst his crews, and they would inevitably have sunk under accumulated afflictions, had it not been for the benevolence of the generous Indians. The idea of being abandoned in a savage country, and doomed never again to see

* See Note XXXIII.

their native land, was too much for Castilian pride or patience. When the last hopes of Fieski's return had failed them, and six long months had elapsed without any tidings of relief, their wearied imaginations suggested the most injurious suspicions of their admiral; and they believed that Ovando, who they knew was his bitter enemy, would leave them all to perish there.

Jan. 2, 1504. — On the 2nd of January, the disaffected crews assembled in arms, headed by the two brothers Porras; the one a commander, the other the military treasurer. The elder Porras, rushing into the cabin of the sick Admiral, charged him with being the cause of all their misfortunes. His mild remonstrance would have satisfied the most captious; but the monster, whose sister was the mistress of a powerful courtier at home, presumed upon his interest there, and openly raised the standard of revolt; seducing the sailors to join him, and proposing to sacrifice Columbus to the hatred of Ovando. Bartholomew Columbus placed himself, with a pike in his hand, upon a narrow beam which served as a communication with the vessel in which his brother was confined, and opposed their passage across it. A parley was the consequence, conciliatory measures were adopted, and Porras retired: but it was only to seize the ten canoes which the Admiral had been preparing, and to embark in them with his band of base conspirators. Few were left with Columbus, except his particular friends and the invalids. These

remained faithful to his cause and obedient to his commands. The rebels pursued their course along the shore to the east end of the island; with which route their late excursion had made some of them acquainted. They landed each night, plundering the Indians, or urging them to rise, and destroy their helpless admiral. Arrived at the point, they attempted to stand across to Hispaniola: but their frail canoes were unequal to the voyage, and to relieve them, in a heavy sea, they cast overboard their baggage, with the unfortunate Indians whom they had forced on board to paddle them. The storm increased, and they were obliged to return. They then waited for more favourable weather, dispersing themselves through the neighbouring villages, and dealing destruction on all around them. Six weeks afterwards they repeated the attempt, and were again repulsed by the unwilling elements. They were then compelled to abandon the enterprise as impracticable, not doubting but that Mendez and Fieski had both perished; and, distressed for provisions, they wandered about the island, plundering the unfortunate natives, and living upon the spoil.

Columbus was now reduced to the extremity of depending solely on the generosity of the Indians for his daily subsistence. His European manufactures, wherewith he had bartered, were nearly expended, and his prospects of relief almost hopeless. A strict discipline, softened by his own unwearied

attentions and parental solicitude, had preserved harmony amongst his remaining people; and, while his scanty means lasted, he had received nothing from the natives without payment; their contributions had therefore been voluntary and abundant. But, accustomed as they were, to provide only for their daily wants, these warm-hearted people found their own resources fast failing, and they ceased to supply their strange guests who had already drawn so largely upon their little stores. The ravages committed by the mutineers, who were ranging with wild fury throughout the island, at length irritated them, and they withdrew from their village of Mayma, seeking refuge in the interior, and leaving the wretched Spaniards to their miserable fate. Thus reduced to the last extremity, Columbus saw, with hopeless despondency, the rapid approach of death, in its most lingering and cruel shape.

In this emergency, he conceived the memorable expedient of playing upon the credulous simplicity of the fugitive islanders. He was aware of an approaching eclipse of the moon; and it occurred to him that use might be made of so imposing a phenomenon to bring the superstitious fugitives to terms. On the plea of having some interesting communication to make, he succeeded in recalling them to a conference. Having upbraided them with their cruel desertion, he assured them that he was under the protection of a God who would undoubtedly avenge it; and that the commencement of their sufferings would

be the immediate loss of their favourite planet, the moon; which, he told them, would, that night, be shrouded in blood, and gradually extinguished. The eclipse commenced; the moon assumed its dark and frightful hue; while the Indians fell prostrate and uttered the most terrific shrieks. Columbus, to give effect to the fruitful stratagem, was long deaf to their loud entreaties, and penitent submission. At length he withdrew to his cabin, to intercede for them; and reappeared with the emerging moon, a convincing proof of the efficacy of his intercession, and that they would be spared as long as they brought food to those who worshipped so powerful a Deity. From that night, nothing was refused to the Christians; while the slightest offence was sedulously avoided by the abject islanders*.

This succour was the more opportune, as a new conspiracy had just then disclosed itself amongst the wretched crews at Santa Gloria. The surgeon, named Bernardi, and his two assistants, Villatora and Zamora, had succeeded in poisoning the minds of the sick beneath their care; and these wretches menaced the lives of Columbus and his brother. At this eventful moment a sail appeared in the offing, and sanguine hopes of relief united all parties in one universal sentiment of gratitude for their approaching deliverance; but it came only to mock their hopes, and insult them in their distress. The captain, Diego d'Escobar, had been selected for

* See Note XXXIV.

this odious embassy, as the personal enemy of Columbus, by whose sentence he had been condemned to death for a mutiny in Hispaniola. His orders were, that he should not visit the wrecks, nor hold any conference with the admiral or his people; but that he should reconnoitre his situation, deliver what he was charged with, and return forthwith.

Escobar executed his commission with the brutal exactitude which might be expected from such a man. He anchored outside the reef, and, in a boat, approached the wreck on which the admiral lived. When within hail, he cast overboard a barrel of provisions, and one of wine; and then, ordering Columbus to be summoned, told him, that the governor-general was very sorry to hear of his misfortunes; had no power to relieve him; but begged he would accept the supply which he sent, as a mark of his personal esteem. He rowed back to his ship, and waited for the admiral's reply. It contained a faithful picture of his wretched situation, with thanks for the good intentions of Ovando; although he had received such proof of their infidelity.

On the departure of Escobar, the evil effects of his insulting visit became apparent; for the remaining crew, perceiving the indignities to which their admiral was subjected, naturally concluded that the design of Ovando was to leave him, and all who espoused his cause, to perish, without relief or even further notice. He found means once more to calm

the rising tumult; and even flattered himself that he should succeed in quelling the mutiny of Porras, who, with his lawless band, had again wandered through the interior to the neighbouring hills of Santa Gloria. This rebel, reduced at length to the extremity of distress, had the insolence to demand a share of the scanty supply which Columbus had received; and, with taunting insults, threatened to possess himself of it by force. He accused the admiral of witchcraft; and succeeded in persuading his followers, that the appearance of Escobar's vessel was but the delusion of the black art, and the effect of sorcery.

To execute his insulting threats, he advanced to the heights on which the village of Mayma stood. From thence he gained a view of the two wrecks which afforded shelter to his intended victim, and prepared to force him in his retreat. Columbus, still confined to his bed by the torments of the gout, sent his brother, with fifty men, to bring him to terms; offering a free pardon to such as would accept it. The mutineers gave them no time to make the proposition; but attacked the amicable bearers of it with desperate fury. Bartholomew withstood the onset; and his party, by the first fire, killed six of them. The elder Porras, now hopeless and desperate, rushed upon him, and by one stroke cleaved asunder his buckler; but his more powerful antagonist seized him without a blow, held him his prisoner, and put the rest to

May 20, 1504.

flight. The admiral again owed his life to the intrepidity of his brother; for it appeared that the rebels had bound themselves, by an oath, to sacrifice him to their fury that night, as one guilty of witchcraft.

The first European blood which was shed in the New World by European hands, thus stained the virgin soil of Jamaica; and, drawn in a contest between those whom the Indian spectators had conceived to be invincible, it could not but tend to depreciate them in their estimation. It cost but the life of one man to the victors, though several were desperately wounded; and the maître-d'hôtel of the admiral eventually died of the injuries he had received. Ledesma, his favourite pilot, was left as dead upon the field of skirmish; but the Indians, led by their curiosity to examine whether their strange visitors, whom they had considered as beings of another world, could indeed be injured, probed his wounds with their fingers. This occasioned the pain which restored the suspended powers of animation; while the piercing shriek which the sufferer uttered, effectually relieved him from the presence of his terrified tormentors.

The day after this affair, all the mutineers who had escaped the sword, sought an opportunity of throwing themselves at the admiral's feet, and, by a solemn oath, bound themselves to future fidelity and strict obedience*. He received them with open

* See Note XXXV.

arms, exacting only that Porras, their misguided chief, should remain in chains; and that, as long as they continued upon the island, they should receive a captain whom he would appoint, under whose command they should be at liberty to establish themselves where they pleased, and gain their support by the barter of such articles as he could afford them from his little store.

From this period until the end of June he continued to suffer all the torments of lingering suspense, scanty subsistence, and disappointed hope. At length, however, Diego de Salcido, whom he had despatched, during the late disturbances, to urge Ovando to assist him, appeared with a ship expressly equipped; and it happened that the two vessels, which had been prepared by Mendez and Fieski, but whose departure had been retarded by the machinations of the governor, arrived at the same time. Thus terminated the tedious and eventful captivity of Columbus; who collected his scattered crew, and, on the 28th of June, bade adieu to an island which he was destined never more to see.

June 28.

A.D. 1509. Its native inhabitants were now left to the enjoyment of their few last days of calm repose and peaceful obscurity. They were not again visited until three years after the death of their discoverer; when the court of Spain, dividing the Darien government between Alfonzo d'Ojeda and Diego Nicuessa, authorised them, jointly and severally, to

make what use they pleased of the unoccupied island of Jamaica, which was the nearest to their territories, and might be to them a fertile garden, from whence they could draw their provisions, and force their slaves. The wretched islanders immediately perceived their cruel fate, and found the iron yoke of merciless captivity set hard upon them. They were bestowed upon rival chieftains, without law to appropriate, or restraint to protect them. The contending interests of their powerful oppressors were visited upon their devoted heads: their villages were laid waste; their caciques murdered; and their children borne away in endless captivity to the mines. Such as were fortunate enough to escape their pursuers, fled to the mountains, or secreted themselves in the recesses of their tangled forests; and there, in caves or huts, they lingered out a miserable existence, till death put an end to their sufferings.

This foreign participation of an island which owed its discovery to his father, whose memorable misfortunes there had rendered it peculiarly dear to him, could not but be galling to the filial feelings of Diego Columbus, who at that moment was embarking as Admiral of the Indies, with his wife and brother, for the colony of San Domingo *. Circumstances, however, compelled him to dissemble; and he resolved to await the issue of the expedition which

* Herrera, l. 7, c. 7. Hist. Gén. des Voyages, tom. xviii, p. 153.

Ojeda and Nicuessa were then preparing, to take possession of their new continental territories, ere he asserted his prior claim to Jamaica. The opportunity soon offered: for these rival governors had not been long appointed, before their respective rights engaged them in serious altercation. The division of Jamaica caused their first dispute. There the admiral stept between them and asserted his superior claim. And he outstripped them both by sending Juan d'Esquimel, with seventy men, to take possession of the island, and to form a settlement on the spot which his father's shipwreck had rendered sacred to his affections. Ojeda was bold and strong. He threatened that if he found Esquimel in Jamaica, he would have his head: but Esquimel found the moment of victory and revenge. The rival governors sailed on their respective missions; and although Esquimel weighed anchor at the same time, he never encountered them in the Island which had been the subject of their disputes: but quietly took possession of it about the end of November.

He landed at Santa Gloria, and immediately fixed the seat of his government on the banks of the small rivulet there; above which, on the side of a wooded mountain, still remained the Indian village of Mayma. Diego Columbus had desired him to name the settlement *Sevilla Nueva*; to commemorate the successful termination of his suit against the crown, which had then been recently decided in the council of the

Indies: and soon after he sent his brother Ferdinand to found a monastery, and assist in the establishment of the colony.

A.D. 1510. In the meantime the miscarriage of Ojeda's continental expedition had reduced that adventurer to the last extremity. On his disastrous return to Hispaniola with the wreck of his forces, he was cast upon the coast of Cuba and reduced to implore the aid of an enemy who might smile at his distress. He supplicated assistance from the governor of Jamaica: the man whose head, in the pride of power, he had threatened to take; and Pierre d'Ordas, his messenger, reached New Seville with letters to Esquimel, praying him not to abandon him in his misfortunes. It was a tempting opportunity for Esquimel to be revenged on him, but he was too generous to take advantage of it: and immediately despatched a vessel to the assistance of his rival, under the orders of Pamphile de Narvaez. The timely succour arrived; the governor of Jamaica, nobly forgetful of the insults he had received, welcomed the unfortunate chieftain to his colony, treated him as his equal in the government; and, after a few days repose, provided him with the means of returning to Hispaniola.

The splendour of San Domingo, the cradle of the Spanish settlements, graced as it was by the presence of royal blood, had now attained its meridian height. Amongst the numerous attendants who composed the suite of the Vicereine, were many of the officers and

nobility of the court of Spain, both male and female. Fêtes and marriages took place every day: the mines poured forth their golden treasures at the expense of Indian life; commerce flourished; new settlements were multiplied; and many of the admiral's friends hearing of the luxuriant beauties of Jamaica, or expecting places and privileges in his favourite colony, came with, or followed Esquimel hither. Bringing with them the refinements of taste, and the means of displaying it, they assisted in the foundation of Sevilla Nueva, whose fame long attested its superiority over every other which has since been built here. In their dress, their tables, their houses, and their furniture, they are said to have united every refinement of conveniency and of elegance: whatever, in short, could soothe Castilian pride, or gratify unbounded sensuality, was to be found in that city whose only vestiges are now to be traced in the luxuriant cane-fields which still retain the name of Seville.

A.D. 1511. From the prompt assistance which Esquimel was enabled to send to Ojeda so soon after he obtained possession of the Island, we may conclude that its conquest had cost him but little. After a slight resistance on the part of those who remembered too well the injuries they had received from the Spaniards five years before, when they found that he was now come, not to carry them off, but to settle amongst them, the Indians perceived the hopelessness of all opposition; and, naturally inclined to the

peaceable occupations of their rude agriculture, they passively retired into the interior, or submitted to the service of their Christian invaders; assisting them in the cultivation of their provisions, and clothing them with the manufactured produce of their native cotton.

Although the Spaniards changed the name of their new town from *Sevilla Nueva* to *Sevilla d'Oro**, from the circumstance of the natives having brought gold to them, yet it seems there was no great quantity of the precious metals ever found here; and probably the gold, thus commemorated, consisted merely of the Indian ornaments of dress,—temporary contributions, which the flushed conquerors would know but too well how to exact. The cotton, however, which was celebrated for its quality, as well as its abundance, soon attracted the notice of the mercantile speculators in the neighbouring islands. The natives already possessed the art of manufacturing it; and the Spaniards, for whom they worked, found it the most profitable article of trade, as long as Indian life was preserved to cultivate it. The extraordinary increase of the European cattle occasioned by the luxuriant and well-watered pasturages of virgin soil around their town, provided another source of wealth; and to it was soon added the sugar-cane and the vine, from which last they made a tolerable species of claret. Herrera bears testimony to the mild government of Esquimel, and

* Morreri,—Art. Seville.

declares that he brought the Indians to submission without the effusion of blood; so that the colony rapidly increased in extent, and rose in prosperity. All the Spanish historians commend the amiable qualities of this first governor of Jamaica; but unhappily for the Indians he soon died, and was buried at Sevillé d'Oro, bequeathing his name to the beautiful bay on the south side of the island, which he had appropriated as his own estate, and fixed on as an eligible spot for ship-building. Its early settlement subsequently changed its name to Old Harbour. The loss of such a man, succeeded as he was by governors of a widely-different character, would have been fatal to the prosperity of the colony, had not Diego Columbus, and his Vicereine, sometimes enlivened it by their visits, and curbed the licentiousness of their representatives. Although the appointments they held compelled their residence at San Domingo, the chief seat of royal authority in these seas, yet the interest they took in the prosperity of this favourite isle, kept alive the spirit of enterprise and improvement. Every one who settled at Sevillé d'Oro either praised their munificence, or blessed their charity. Beneath such patronage the buildings still proceeded rapidly. A theatre and palaces arose, and many noble buildings long remained the decayed monuments of private opulence and taste.

A.D. 1519. Ten years after its settlement, the colony must have possessed very considerable resources; for we find its governor, Francisco de Garay,

equipping three ships *, manned by two hundred and seventy men, under the command of Pineda, to take possession of a territory near Panuco on the Main. This Francisco de Garay had long been in Hispaniola, a successful partner of the celebrated Diaz, in working the mine of St. Christopher, in the year 1500. Herrera relates a curious anecdote of him:—While breakfasting one morning on the banks of the river Hayna, one of his slaves accidentally struck his pike into the ground beside him; it touched something hard and sonorous, which, on removing the earth, was discovered to be a mass of the purest gold. Garay, transported by his good fortune, killed a hog, and roasted it whole upon the surface of the metal, boasting that he ate off a plate more valuable than any possessed by their Catholic Majesties. Bovadilla, the governor, purchased it for the King, and it was found to weigh three thousand six hundred golden crowns. The discovery was without precedent, and gave fresh vigour to the miners; but unfortunately this great natural curiosity went where much wealth had gone before it—the ship which carried it, with twenty others laden with the precious metals, was lost off the east end of Hispaniola, and the crews of all perished.

This good fortune of Garay raised him, however, into notice, and eventually led to his appointment as Governor of Jamaica; whither he carried his insatiable avarice, and cruel experience in the manage-

* See Note XXXVI.

ment of Indian slaves. In his unsuccessful expedition to the Main, he greatly exceeded the power of his commission. Cortez, with whose conquests it interfered, immediately seized seven of his men; and the rest returned, sick and dispirited, to tell their tale to the disappointed governor. In the following year he again aimed at the usurpation of part of the continental territories which Cortez already occupied; and sent another expedition of considerable force to Panuco. It consisted of three ships: the first commanded by Camargo, with sixty men; the second, which carried fifty men, was commanded by Diaz de Auz, a native of Arragon, who had so signalized himself by strength and prowess, that he alone was esteemed a host; and the third, under the orders of Ramirez, carried forty men with arms, stores, and horses*. No better success attended this second attempt; for no sooner did the forces land, than the indignant Indians forced them back to their ships in disorder and dismay. They all met again at Vera Cruz; where the fame of Cortez, who had just then entered the city of Mexico, seduced them from their less fortunate employer. They joined the conquering bands of Cortez, and, forsaking the fortunes of the unlucky Garay, afforded a very seasonable reinforcement to the diminished resources of his successful rival. This loss of what constituted the flower of the colony, caused a

A.D. 1520.

* Solis, c. 6; also page 362; and Herrera, dec. 3. l. 2.

great sensation at Seville d'Oro; and the severe reprimand which Garay's ambitious interference received from the Emperor, restrained the spirit of foreign enterprise, yet concentrated the effective strength of the settlers.

A.D. 1521.

The city had now attained a sufficient degree of maturity to throw off scions from the parent stock. Some of its most enterprising inhabitants turned their thoughts to larger possessions than the confined neighbourhood of Seville could afford them. They followed the example of Esquimel, penetrated the interior woods, and on the southern savannahs selected and settled their own estates. Their success encouraged more, and two new towns were founded. To one of these, situated on the bay of Blewfields, they gave the name of Oristan; from a town in Sardinia, which, as well as Seville, gives a title to the kings of Spain. The other they called Melilla—the site of which has been involved in obscurity, but which was undoubtedly situated where Marthabrae now stands, and received its name from a small town in Barbary, subject to the same crown.

The death of Diego Columbus, which happened in the year 1526, checked these improvements: many of his friends, who had been protected by his power from the arbitrary acts of licentious governors, now losing their patron, withdrew from Jamaica, and the spirit of the colony immediately abated. Don Pedro d'Esquimel, the governor whom Las Casas stigmatizes as the most cruel oppressor of

the Jamaica Indians, had greatly reduced their number, and consequently the chief resources of the colony; while other circumstances co-operated to cloud
A.D. 1528. the rising prosperity of Jamaica. The French pirates, allured by the opulence and blind avarice of the improvident Spaniards, had already commenced that desultory species of warfare
A.D. 1530. which was afterwards carried on by them under the name of Flibustiers; and the northern coast of Jamaica afforded frequent spoil to this bold band of corsairs. The consequence was, that the settlement of Oristan was destroyed in its infancy; Melilla was abandoned almost as soon as built; and the capital itself became the repeated prey of a lawless banditti. Its buildings, many of them the creation of monastic munificence, were suspended, its trade interrupted, and such of the inhabitants as were not bound by office to the seat of government, deserted their half-finished walls to seek a safer retreat in the southern districts of the island.

The settlement of Esquimel was not considered sufficiently distant from the sea to insure the safety of the alarmed Castilians; although they had a ready access to it through the Pedro district. The Indian savannas to the eastward of it were thought more eligible; but it was necessary that the spot they fixed on should have a direct communication with what was still the capital; and the stupendous mountains which rise in that part of the island seemed to forbid all hope of access. The occasion, however, was

urgent, and the attempt was made. The frightened citizens of Seville ascended through the Indian village of Mayma, and there diverged from the path which led through Pedro to Esquimel, penetrating the tangled woods of the interior in a more easterly direction. They climbed the mountain which they named, from the numerous monkies whose haunts were thus disturbed, *Monesca;* and, from the summit of a stupendous cliff, they descended the threatening rocks whose aspect suggested to their African slaves the well-known Devil's Mount *. From their eastern base they threaded the lowland forests; and, guided through a narrow defile by the course of an impetuous river which forced its passage between the river cliffs, they again beheld luxuriant plains and a distant ocean before them. Here the banks of the Rio Cobre offered them the security they so anxiously sought. They found a vast savanna already opened by Indian cultivation, sufficiently removed from the sea to guard them from the experienced dangers of surprise; with a defensible pass in the rear, and a stream of the purest water flowing through rich meadows. Upon a gentle slope extending to its bed, and certainly on the very spot which dear-bought experience had taught them would be the most fit for peaceable possession, they commenced their labours anew. But their resources were not now as when, beneath the powerful auspices of their ennobled patron, they had founded their first capital.

* See Note XXXVII.

A wandering band of frightened fugitives, they here first breathed in security, and rudely built their temporary huts: while on the grassy banks of the river they reared the flocks which fed them. The irregularity of the town even yet bears testimony to this its unpremeditated origin.

The beauty and advantages of its situation soon, however, attracted many inhabitants from Seville:—

A.D. 1538. the solitary settlement coalesced into a tolerable town; and a square was laid out in the Spanish-American fashion, which has ever since

A.D. 1543. remained. The seat of government was soon after transferred thither, and a nucleus was thus formed, around which the scattered colonists were speedily concentrated for mutual safety and support. Columbus had bestowed the name of St. Jago on the island; but its earlier name outlived the hallowed title. The vindictive Saint was offended at the neglect, and its first city fell. Superstition therefore suggested the conciliatory measure of conferring his name upon the new town: the savannas, which displayed their grassy pride around, lent their aid to the necessary completion of its name; and it was called Saint Jago de la Vega, or Saint Jago of the Plains; to distinguish it from its neighbouring capital, Saint Jago de Cuba.

The buildings there now rose as rapidly as those of Seville decayed. A safe and convenient situation attracted a crowd of settlers: their labours were rewarded by the conversion of the neighbouring sa-

vannas into a productive district; and in sixteen years from its foundation, the town was esteemed worthy of giving a second title to the grandson of the man who had discovered the island, and opened the treasures of the New World to the increasing necessities of the Old. The wars raging between Charles V. and Henry of France, the Spaniards in their American settlements suffered more than ever from the incursions of the freebooters, and the unfortunate city of Seville d'Oro received a fatal blow from a spirited attack of the French pirates, who, in the year 1554 razed it to the ground *. Bare walls and sculptured archways alone survived the loss of the inhabitants, affording shelter to a few fishermen, and a convenient resort to the corsairs of Tortue. The English privateers also assisted in its final destruction. Queen Elizabeth commenced her reign by rejecting the matrimonial offers of Philip of Spain; and although war did not break out between the two crowns until the year 1568, she was so incensed at the treacherous manner in which Hawkins and his crew had been treated, that she embraced all masked opportunities of retaliation.

A.D. 1558.

As matters then stood, she could not openly resent the insult, all English trade in Spanish America being repugnant to existing treaties; yet, to distress Philip in bringing home his treasures, she equipped adventurers to cruise there, and reaped some private emo-

* Benzo, l. 2. d. iv. This act was, however, cruelly revenged by the Spaniards, who, twelve years afterwards, massacred the French in Florida.

luments from this predatory warfare. The English privateers, which she licensed, carried on an illicit trade, not more to their own profit than to the public benefit: for they gained a perfect knowledge of the ports, rivers, and fortresses, the nature of their commercial relations, and the modes of sharing them by fair means, or destroying them by force.

Such constant alarms, and repeated attacks, obliged the Spaniards of Jamaica to confine themselves to the immediate neighbourhood of their new capital; where they contented themselves with the cultivation of the adjacent lands, by means of the few slaves which their limited resources had enabled them to purchase; for the native population was now extinct. Their effective strength being so concentrated, they bestowed all their attention on the establishment of the town, which was soon distinguished by the residence of an Abbot, and the privileges of a city. Religion once again forced architecture into her service; the Metropolitan See of San Domingo lent its aid; and the monastic institution of New Seville, over which Peter Martyr had presided as titular abbot, was now transferred to St. Jago, where an abbey was founded, and two churches, of no mean designs, were built. Prosperity once again dawned upon the Island,—for Portugal, in the year 1580, was added to the crown of Spain; and the territorial right of Jamaica being then vested in the Braganza family, the Portuguese poured into it, expecting peculiar privileges from the circumstance

of its sovereignty being in one of their own nation. By their industry and perseverance they, for a time, augmented its culture and commerce. But too soon they found invincible obstacles in the narrow policy and national jealousy of the proud and idle Castilians, who, passing a life of thoughtless ease and listless affluence, contented themselves with consuming the produce of their plantations, and disposing of the small casual surplus to such vessels as visited them from the Havannah, or touched accidentally upon their coasts. For the exclusive possession of so neglected, yet so beautiful an island they had exterminated its natural possessors; and now wanted strength to take advantage of the teeming soil which they had gained. Its exuberant fertility did more for them than their industry: for in the year 1587 it was so overrun by the wild offspring of the cows, and hogs, and horses, which had originally been transported from Hispaniola, that a considerable bartering trade was carried on in provisions, hides, and hog's-lard. This fortuitous success opened the way to the partial cultivation of ginger, and then sugar; which last had been totally unattended to, since the destruction of Seville d'Oro *, and which indeed never supplied them with an article of export.

A.D. 1596. St. Jago now felt the influence of increasing prosperity, and reared its head, a thriving capital; yet it displayed a scene of proud, rather

* See Note XXXVIII.

than of tasteful magnificence. Nine years afterwards its fame exposed it to a predatory visit from Sir Anthony Shirley, who was cruising in the neighbourhood with a powerful fleet: he made an easy conquest of it; plundered the most accessible parts of the island, and retired. Yet he gained, or confessed, so little spoil, that no one thought it worth while again to trouble the insignificant colony, until Colonel Jackson, after a repose of thirty-nine years, during which the town rose to its meridian splendour, made a descent upon it from the Windward Islands. At the head of five hundred men, he beat the Spaniards, who fought bravely at Passage Fort; overran the island, and exacted a considerable sum for the preservation of its capital. Upon evacuating it, many of his troops, seduced by the beauty of the country, deserted him, and joined the Spaniards: yet they soon found, to their cost, that they were unable to inspire that indolent people with their own natural energy, or to gain more than a scanty subsistence for themselves; and they were given up, by treaty, to Venables, when the English took possession of the island twenty years afterwards.

The Hidalgos of St. Jago again enjoyed oblivious repose; but it was a tranquillity now oppressed by poverty, and enfeebled by sloth. Their past misfortunes roused them not into activity, nor did the example of the neighbouring colonies, which daily suffered from the same powerful enemies, urge them to provide against dangers which on all sides

approached, and threatened them. Little information can, however, be gathered, as to the internal history of Jamaica during its last period of heedless inactivity, and total neglect: for, as Gage observes, "nothing hath been written of these parts, for these hundred years past, which is almost ever since the first conquest thereof by the Spaniards, who are contented to lose the honor of that wealth and felicity they have there purchased by their great endeavours, so long as they may enjoy the safety of retaining what they have gotten in peace and security."

A.D. 1636. The insignificance of Jamaica had been its preservation from the serious notice of the English, who had frequently preyed upon the larger and more opulent Spanish settlements around it;—and the Spaniards themselves were too much occupied by their continental concerns to bestow a thought upon an island whose days of novelty had long since passed away, and whose early splendour had so rapidly decayed. The mines of Mexico and Peru engaged all their attention, and required all their strength. The immense wealth of Attabaliba, which was divided amongst the soldiers of Pizarro, points out the readier and richer spoils, for which Jamaica had been neglected. The other islands had shared almost a similar fate. Acosta declares that abundance of gold still remained in the rivers of Cuba, and all the neighbouring islands, but that little found its way to Spain, for want of hands to collect it, or energy to make the attempt. He observes,

moreover, that so scarce were the precious metals become in all these islands, though plenty was to be obtained here, that the inhabitants used copper money, and even pieces of leather. Yet, when Jamaica became lost to Spain, its occupation was considered of so much importance by that power, that it was made the subject of a declaration of war; and all English ships and effects found in any Spanish port were confiscated. Some years afterwards, when Richard Cromwell treated with the French ambassador respecting the conditions of a peace with Spain, he was told that his Catholic Majesty would never consent to leave Jamaica in the hands of the English, for that "it would in time overthrow all the maxims by which he governed his American dominions;" moreover, that he would give a considerable sum for its repossession. Richard was too wise, or too honest, to encourage the proposal; but the circumstance proves the vast importance of an island whose loss threatened the subversion of the western monarchy of Spain, little as it was regarded for its intrinsic wealth or worth.

The only notice which Gage takes of Jamaica, is very incorrect and imperfect; and it clearly shows that, though his information accidentally led to its conquest, he had no intention of directing the views of the Protector to the capture of an island of which he knew so little. "Jamaica," says he, "is another island under the power of the Spaniards; which is in length two hundred and eighty

A.D. 1637.

miles, and seventy in breadth; which, though it exceeds Margarita in sweet and pleasant streams and fountains of water, yet is far inferior to it in riches. Some hides, some sugar, and some tobacco, are the chief commodities from thence. There are only two towns of note in it—Oristana and Sevilla: here are built ships which have proved as well at sea as those that are made in Spain. This island was once very populous, but now is almost destitute of Indians; for the Spaniards have slain in it more than sixty thousand, insomuch that women, as well here as on the continent, did kill their children before they had given them birth, that the issues of their bodies might not serve so cruel a nation."

The fame attached to the ancient splendour of Seville d'Oro seems therefore to have outlived the subsequent prosperity of St. Jago de la Vega; and this vague report of an island, then on the eve of falling into the hands of the English, and made by an Englishman who had been fifteen years in its neighbourhood, is an additional proof of its insignificant obscurity under the Spanish dominion. This fact, added to the national jealousy of its inhabitants, are obstacles which prevent our acquaintance with its interior government and political history. Impenetrable secrecy always covered with a sacred veil the Spanish administration of the American dominions; and whatever transpired in Europe, relative to their affairs here, has always been as destitute of authenticity as it was, generally, of bare consistency.

The navigation and commerce of these seas were interdicted to all foreign powers, while all their colonies were sealed alike against the curiosity of the traveller, and the researches of the philosopher. Neither agents nor consuls were maintained there by other states; and Europe knew no more of the transactions of the western hemisphere than what Spain herself chose to communicate.

Another reason for the deficiency of information relative to the Spanish government of Jamaica, may be found in the fact, that the island was out of the way of all direct communication with Europe; for its few hides, and other exports, were carried to the Havannah, the common rendezvous of the fleets from Mexico and Peru; and, for the purposes of this short transit, the colonists here built caravels of their own*. The history of Spanish Jamaica must, therefore, be imperfect; and indeed the British conquerors gave a very confused and contradictory account of the state in which they found it. We must be content, then, to mark some points—the milestones of its existence—which measure the extent and intervals of the vacant way.

Esquimel† was the spot selected for the principal ship-yard, where the Rio de la Puente‡ empties itself into the little bay of Guavagera. This and Caguaya§ were the chief ports; and, in the hills between them, according to the information of the

* See Note XXXIX.

† Old Harbour.

‡ Black River.

§ Port Royal.

Portuguese, were two rich mines of silver and copper —intelligence which delighted the English army, but proved delusive. The country between Esquibel and St. Jago, as far as Passage Fort, and up to the very base of the St. John's Mountains, was all open down, or savanna, having been, in the first instance, cleared by the Indians for the cultivation of maize and ginger. Its fertility was great; but at length, by incessant culture, repeated burning, and the recurrence of dry seasons, it failed; and the wild opopanax choked the exhausted pasturage. Such savannas were, throughout the island, divided into hatos; and were everywhere well supplied with horned cattle and horses—whence numerous herds escaped into the woods and stocked the country. Such were the hatos of Yama and Guatibocoa—now the districts of Vere and Withy-wood. In the hato of Yama is the Panda Botella, or Round Hill; and six miles to the westward, the Manaté Mountain *. Over this ran the only southern road of communication with the west end of the island; a rugged bridle-path, from Swift River, across Long Bay and the Devil's Race, to the hato of Pereda †, once considered the best, as it undoubtedly is the largest, savanna in the island. On this stood the village of that name, which was a considerable hamlet as late as when the English took it; but the downs around it formed, as they do

* Carpenter's Mountain.

† So called, probably, from *perecida*, dry; and now corrupted to Parattee.

now, a worn-out district of unproductive land, loamy, hard baked by sun and fire, interspersed with sand-galls, and covered thinly with withered wire-grass. Clumps of stunted trees break the monotony of the dreary waste, where the rocks, rising through the yellow soil, retain a little moisture to nourish their thirsty roots.

Six miles beyond the mahogany district of Caobana river *, was the hato of El Ebano †; next to this the hato Cabonico, near Oristan; and adjoining the latter, Savanna la Mar,—a name which that level tract of country, reaching to Punto Negrillo, still retains. Oristan itself had been demolished, and deserted, some time previous to the arrival of the British forces; but the precise period we have no means of ascertaining.

To the eastward of Punto de Caguaya, was the hato of Lignany, abounding with cedar and other timbers used in ship-building. On its shore was another ship-yard, where the English invaders found several vessels on the stocks. This part of the country was also overrun by cattle, wild as the woods they browsed beneath; and the first employment of the troops was hunting them for their hides and tallow. Sedgewicke declares that his men killed twenty thousand in the course of the first four months; and as to horses, "they were in such plenty," says Admiral Goodson, "that we accounted them the very vermine of the country." The only part of this dis-

* Black River. † Ebony, or black savanna.

trict which was cultivated, was possessed by a rich Spanish widow, who had a sugar-work there, and whose house was taken possession of by Colonel Barry. It was encircled with a gallery, and long remained under the name of Cavaliers: to commemorate that unfortunate attempt which caused the banishment of many royalists to Jamaica. The narrow slip of land lying between the Long Mountain and the Great Blue Mountain chain, was called Lezama. To the eastward of it was the hato of Ayla, full of tame cattle, and reputed for its sugar-works, having the command of two rivers, the Hope and the Cane. It was, however, dangerously open to the incursions of the pirates, who repeatedly landed at the coves of Los Ana* and La Cruz de Padre †. Next to this was the hato of Morante, spacious and abundant in hogs and cattle; this terminated in what was called the Mine, at the Cape of Morante, to the northward of which was Port Antonio. During the last fifty years of its Spanish occupation, the north side of the island was abandoned, and allowed to grow wild in wood—except a small spot in the neighbourhood of the decayed ruins of Seville d'Oro, which still remained in rude cultivation. The density of the forests soon became so great, that the English troops, on their expedition to dislodge the Spaniards in the year 1658, were unable to penetrate them, and compelled to go round by water. The hatos were the exclusive properties of twelve Spa-

* Bull Bay, † Yallahs.

nish and Portuguese Hidalgos; and upon each of them was erected a mansion which the owner seldom visited—contented to derive the produce of his farm from the labour of his slaves there, while he passed a life of luxurious sloth in the town of St. Jago.

Five rugged tracks afforded communications between the different parts of the island. That along the southern side, extended from Oristan, over Manatee mountain to Esquimel; and thence over the wide savanna, past La Cruz de Padre to Morante cape. That on the northern shore commenced at Port Antonio, where there was a small hamlet; crossed the Bay of Rio Nuevo, thence it passed the ruins of Seville and Melilla to Pedro Point, near the western extremity. The three interior paths established a communication between the north and south sides; the most considerable from St. Jago, over the Monte Diablo, and the Monesca savanna *, led to the ruins of Seville d'Oro. Another from Esquibel through Old Woman's Savanna, and Pedro and Mayma (now Mammee Ridge), led to the same point; and the third from Oristan, by the head of Great River to Melilla.

A descriptive account of the island †, written about the time of the English conquest, contains the following passage. "La ville d'Oristan, bâtie par les Espagnols, étoit peu éloignée d'une Baie où la rivière de Blewfields se décharge, en lui donnant son nom. Toute cette côte est remplie de rocs, et bordée par

* Moneague. † Hist. Gén. des Voyages, tom. xviii.

quelques petites isles; telles que Sernavilla, Quitesvena, Cascabel, et Serrano *. C'est dans celle-ci que le fameux Serrano, dont elle tire son nom, fut jeté seul, par une tempête qui avoit brisé son vaisseau, et qu'il passa trois ans sans aucun commerce avec les hommes." The same author states Oristan to have been fourteen leagues from Seville; adding, "onze lieues au-delà, on trouve quelques restes de Melilla, autre ville Espagnole, dans la paroisse de St. James."

These relative distances, which correspond exactly with the known sites of two of the towns, and the supposed situation of the third, pretty well establish Melilla on the banks of the Marthabrae River; and the supposition is confirmed by the fact of one of these Spanish roads having communicated between that identical spot and the town of Oristan. Thus the Spaniards seem to have disposed of their towns, in the first instance, with a due regard to the interests of expected commerce. Oristan was conveniently situated for an intercourse with Carthagena; Melilla, for a traffic with the Havannah and the southern parts of Cuba; while the harbour of Seville was well adapted to a trade with Hispaniola; and Cagua and Esquimel offered sheltered anchorage to the vessels passing from San Domingo to the westward. How all their commercial projects were frustrated we have seen; and nipped in the bud as was this unfortunate colony, its inhabitants possessed

* See Note XL.

neither strength nor energy to make the most of what remained to them. Small settlements had been formed at Paratée, Rio Español *, Rio Nuevo, and Chireiras; but they contributed little or nothing to the resources of the Island, and barely furnished a subsistence to their indolent tenants. About eighty thousand hogs were killed annually during the latter part of the Spanish occupation; and their lard, a favourite ingredient in the Olla, was sent to meet the homeward-bound fleets at the Havannah. This, with mahogany †, fustic, ebony, lignum vitæ, and cacao, supplied the bartering trade; for though ginger and sugar were cultivated, and pimento was a weed in the country, the Spaniards attended to no more than the supply of their own immediate wants.

Of the inland districts, Guanaboa was reputed for its cacao trees, whose berries were selling at the Havannah at three shillings a bushel; and the low-lands of Clarendon were celebrated for their extensive plantations of tobacco. The bases of the mountains were the favourite spots of Spanish cultivation; with the rich vallies and level bottoms, around which the lower ranges of hills rise in amphitheatre. Such are Porus and Green Pond, where are still visible the vestiges of former industry, and the remains of ancient wells. The indigenous fruits of the country yielded their rich luxuries without the aid of culture, and formed a considerable part of the Spanish diet;

* Spanish River, in the parish of St. George.

† See Note XLI.

the pine-apple and avocado pear had been but recently introduced when the English arrived, at which period the former sold as high as sixpence each.

Little other than copper coin supplied the circulating medium. Large quantities of such money, stamped somewhat like the pistorins, have been discovered in St. Jago and the adjacent hills; but neither gold nor silver coins were ever found. The scarcity of these metals was so great, that they were employed only in the household articles of the most wealthy, and in the sacred relics of the Abbey*. The British troops, disappointed in their expectations of a rich booty, supposed that the surprised Spaniards had buried their reputed wealth. The scanty portion which they possessed was probably, however, carried with them when they retired to Cuba; and as they expected to be soon reinstated, they buried their less valuable copper-money, a list of which interments was long preserved in a register at the Havannah, by way of ascertaining and perpetuating the claims of the descendants from the original proprietors. It is not likely, however, that the concealed treasure remained long neglected, when the Spaniards were for so many years hovering about the country, and possessed of so many ways of clandestinely recovering it. These copper coins were very thin, and equal in weight to about one farthing sterling †, but some of them were cut so as to pass current even at one-fourth of the whole.

* See Note XLII. † See Note XLIII.

The almost effaced inscription of one that I have seen, appears to be "Carolus et Joanna, Hispaniarum rex et regina;" which would fix its date as early as the year 1517.

The population of Jamaica, at the time of its capture, has been variously reported; and cannot now be ascertained with any degree of certainty. The most probable account is that contained in the "Apology" which Venables made to the Protector; from which we are given to understand that it consisted of no more than fifteen hundred Spaniards and Portuguese, with about an equal number of mulattoes and negro slaves*. To so impoverished a state was the island reduced, that its higher class of inhabitants was composed of only eight families, who were amongst the first that made their escape to Cuba. The slaves were, in fact, better provided for than their owners; their wants were few, their labour easy, and their sustenance abundant. They neither obtained nor desired freedom; but, residing on the scattered plantations of their absent owners, led a life of uncontrouled indolence and native sloth.

Yet poor as the country was, and monotonous as must have been the lives of its sluggish inhabitants, their attachment to it was warm and remarkable. The hard terms imposed upon them by their English conquerors were certainly unjustifiable, and drew forth the most bitter complaints from these outcast patriots. When the conditions of the capitula-

* See Note XLIV.

tion which had been ratified by their pusillanimous governor, were made known to the inhabitants of the capital, they rejected them with disdain, and declared that rather than swerve from their natural allegiance, they would die to maintain it; that having neither friends, nor means elsewhere, they would perish in the woods sooner than beg their bread in a foreign land. The Portuguese headed this determined little band; but it was too late for them to attempt the defence of their town, and they chose the wiser plan of retreating into the interior. One old duenna, who lost all she was possessed of in St. Jago, obtained permission to end her days quietly on her hato; which to this day retains the name of Old Woman's Savanna.

That the mountains and rivers of Jamaica contain both gold and silver is certain. The Healthshire hills are said to have furnished the copper which composed the bells of the Abbey Church in St. Jago; and Mr. Beckford obtained a large native grain of gold from the bed of the Rio Mina, whose richness in metallic ore might probably supply its name. That the Spaniards were acquainted with the valuable quality of its sand, is proved by the remains of the lavaderos, which may yet be traced upon Longville plantation. These lavaderos were a succession of basins chisseled out of the solid rock, which there forms the bed of the river, and the asperities of whose surface were filled with cement. They afforded the most humane and economical method of pro-

curing gold; and were the native inventions of the original Indians themselves—who dug a little bay in the eddying angle of such streams as they had reason to expect were rich in ore, and the water flowing rapidly through it, washed away the mud, leaving only the heavier sandy sediment. When they perceived any signs of the metal, they diverted the water through another channel, and carried the sand to the lavadero. Into these basins they conducted a heavy stream, which broke and loosened the lumps of earth, bore away the soluble and extraneous parts, and precipitated the metal, mixed with heavy black sand. This was again washed from basin to basin, until in the last of the series were found the golden grains in a state of purity; some as large as bird shot, and sometimes masses weighing from two ounces to a pound. The former were called *oro en polvo*, and the latter *pepitas*, their fineness being generally from twenty-one to twenty-three carats. Yet so little of this treasure was derived from Jamaica, that we do not find it mentioned in any of the Spanish records of the island. It is probable that the Spaniards had ceased their search for it a considerable time before they lost possession. Their labouring slaves were too few in number to be spared from the necessary occupations of the field; and the expulsion of several

A.D. 1640. Portuguese families, about fifteen years before that event, had fatally reduced the scanty resources of the colony. Many of the Spa-

niards themselves, alarmed by the incursions of Shirley and Jackson, oppressed by their despotic governors against whom they had no appeal, and foreseeing the probability of the event which soon after happened, had also thrown up their little property, and removed to Cuba,—leaving the deserted remains of former prosperity visible only in the number of edifices which rendered apparently respectable their once populous capital of St. Jago de la Vega.

Thus it is only by the glimmering light of a few obscure records, that, during the last twenty years, the existence of Spanish Jamaica is rendered visible.

Chapter VII.

The Conquest of Jamaica by the British Forces under Penn and Venables.—Its History from that period until the Restoration of Charles II.

The provocations* which the English nation had so repeatedly received from the arrogant monopoly of Spain, have been assigned as the ostensible motives influencing Cromwell in that sudden act of aggression which led to the subjugation of Jamaica. From the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, the sovereigns of Spain had assumed an exclusive right of navigating the American seas; and had maintained the exercise of perpetual hostility on the ships and subjects of all the nations of Europe found in any part of the new hemisphere. The frequent depredations committed upon their colonies, and the numerous losses which they sustained in the annual transit of their plate-fleet, by acts which, it must be confessed, were little better than piratical, had kept them in a state of continual irritation, and urged them to the vain measure of assuming a position which they possessed very little ability to maintain. Consequently, while the courts of London and Madrid were at peace in Europe, their subjects were permitted or encouraged to continue a desultory species of war-

* See Purchas, v. iv. p. 1177; also Speed, Hollingshed, Stow, Hakluyt, Sir W. Raleigh's Essays, and Note XLV.

fare in the American seas. The acts of aggression were often wantonly great; while the deliberate cruelty of the Spaniards measured the provocation, and exceeded the revenge.

Of their inhumanity towards the subjects of foreign states, such even as were wrecked upon their coasts, the instances are numerous, and the details monstrous. Their very mercies were cruel; for if they forbore to inflict instant death upon their victims, it was but to avail themselves of their services in the barbarous slavery of the mines. The remarkable act of Spanish treachery, which, in the year 1629, condemned six hundred peaceable English settlers at St. Christopher's to this subterraneous bondage, led to the treaty of the following year; which was intended to terminate the unbounded pretensions of the Spanish monarchs on the one hand, and the predatory warfare of British subjects on the other. By it the latter power was assured of an uninterrupted intercourse with Barbadoes, and its other colonies in these seas; while such savage retaliations were no longer to be permitted. Peace was therefore mutually proclaimed in the year 1630. But, in violation of all that is sacred and solemn between Christian states, and to the eternal disgrace of the perfidious Spaniards, only eight short years had elapsed, when they wantonly attacked a small English colony which had peaceably taken possession of the unoccupied island of Tortuga, and put every inhabitant to the sword. Charles I. was too deeply engaged in con-

tests at home to resent this flagrant violation of faith. The Scots had at that moment thrown off their allegiance; and the fanatical foolery of the Kirk threatened the entire subversion of his government. The Spaniards, taking advantage of his inability to retaliate, grew bold in their perfidy, and twelve years afterwards repeated the same bloody tragedy at Santa Cruz,—exterminating every Englishman whom they found there, and murdering, as at Tortuga, even the women and children.

Perfidy so flagrant, and pretensions so exorbitant, could not fail of having their due influence on the deliberations of the Protector; and he was satisfied that he had the popular plea of retribution for the measures which he had determined to pursue.

But Cromwell had also other motives, of a deeper political tendency, urging him to the act of aggression which he contemplated. He was a hero both in good and evil; endowed with great depth of judgment, and as exquisitely refined in the hypocritical cant of his times, as he was devoted to the eager pursuits of his ambition. He was good-natured, and cruel, as it best suited his interests: destitute alike of faith in his religion, honour in his word, or fidelity in his friendship. In short, he possessed, in an eminent degree, the qualities of a deep politician; nothing being wanting to his increasing fortune but the attainment of it by just means, a longer life, and children worthy of succeeding to it*.

* See Note XLVI.

The voice of the nation cried aloud for retaliation on the treacherous Spaniards; but Cromwell, like his murdered monarch, had too much to do at home, to have spared the force, and risked the loss, of seven thousand of his troops in the hazardous enterprise of a distant invasion, had he not hoped to have profited in some nearer point than the protection of his American subjects, or the satisfaction of retributive justice*. At that moment he had his most difficult game to play; and the time which elapsed between the equipment of the expedition and its sailing for America, was occupied in views of deeper interest than the mere consideration of colonial prosperity. Although Whitlock's unseasonable advice had induced him to dissemble his aim at royal power, yet he thought that some great or popular exploit might so raise his reputation as to obtain him, at least, the offer of it. Nor was he mistaken in his expectations; although, in the interim, circumstances occurred which prevented his acceptance of the proffered crown.

But his great difficulty, at the present crisis, was, which to choose—the cause of France, or
A.D. 1654. that of Spain. The Spaniards, influenced by the Prince de Condé, who was then in the Netherlands, offered that, if Cromwell would assist in their disastrous war against France, they would never make peace with that power until he should have recovered Calais. But Cardinal Mazarin outbid

* See Note XLVII.

them, by proposing his assistance to take Dunkirk, a place of much more importance to the immediate interests of the Protector. The tyrant found domestic parties, also, growing so strong against him, that if the king or his brother were assisted by France with an army of Huguenots, in a descent on England, (an invasion which was threatened should he join with Spain), it might prove fatal to one who had so many enemies at home, and so few friends anywhere. This important consideration, with relation to his own peculiar position, made the scale preponderate in favour of France; for he well knew that, happen what would, the Spaniards, distracted by internal divisions, and weakened by their memorable defeat at Rocroi, could afford the king no succour; nor were there any Protestant subjects of that crown to attempt the restoration of the expelled monarch. To gain him still further to his purpose, and seal the compact which was to destroy the crumbling edifice of the Spanish monarchy, Mazarin further gratified him by the dismissal of the unfortunate Charles from the court of France. Here, then, may be found the strongest motive which actuated Cromwell in the course which he pursued. But he had again another object in view, when he commenced the attack by invading the unprepared colonies of Spain; those vital and vulnerable points, from whence flowed the resources which alone could render her formidable to his interest. Soon after his determination to accept the proposals of the wily Cardinal, the con-

spiracy of the Cavaliers, and Penruddock's brave, but unfortunate attempt to proclaim the king at Salisbury, convinced him that some drain must speedily be opened to carry off the disaffected; that he must furnish some immediate employment for the troops, who, for want of active service, were thus continually plotting against himself. This result of idleness Fairfax had been forewarned of by Gage, whose work on the West Indies was now brought into notice, and drew the attention of Cromwell to a part of the world hitherto closed against the inspection of all Europe. The gaols throughout the empire were crowded with petty delinquents, or the unfortunate partisans of royalty; and Cromwell considered that if he could maintain the reputation which his military talents had gained him, by the employment, or perhaps the sacrifice, of such disaffected subjects, it would be a very easy purchase. The West Indies afforded him, at least, a fair field for the experiment: his success there would be a fatal blow to the Spanish monarchy; and his failure could only rid him of those subjects whose fidelity, on home service, he could not depend upon. Gage's account of the wealth and weakness of the Spaniards promised him, indeed, a speedy conquest; and following the perfidious example which they had set him, he determined to seize upon Hispaniola before he declared hostilities. He conceived, moreover, that its fall would cause the immediate submission of all their other islands; while the treasures which

he should acquire would enable him to establish his government without the aid of parliament. Such, then, was his determination; but he warily kept his project a state secret, even from his own council; for he had yet neither broke with Spain, nor finished his alliance with France.

Here the crafty tyrant deceived the keenest politicians of his age; for, having overturned the monarchy of his own country, they naturally looked upon him as a republican champion, destined to curb the tyranny of kings—one whose evident policy it was to check the bold career of the French monarch, who at that moment threatened to subjugate Spain—to compel the marriage of the Infanta—to usurp the inheritance of Charles V.—and to give laws to enslaved Europe. But Cromwell wore a mask with deeper layers than these; his politics were of a deeper cast than to be swayed by such superficial projects. He had little to fear from the power of Spain, and everything from the policy of France. He was assured that if he succeeded in espousing the fallen fortunes of the former power, all the glory he should reap would be that of simply restoring an equilibrium between the two crowns; but that if he sided with the latter, his naval superiority would enable him to vent his spleen against a bitter enemy; and he contemplated, in the true spirit of his nature, that he might then turn upon his ally, and despoil him of the fruits of that triumph which he had assisted him in obtaining.

His resolution, therefore, was at length taken, and, in November, 1654, he ordered an expedition to be prepared at Portsmouth, under the superintendence of General Desbrow; but he kept its destination a profound secret. Some supposed it was going to Loretto; and the report occasioned such an alarm, that a fortification was actually drawn around the papal treasures of the Church there. Others conceived that it was preparing against Rome itself; for Cromwell's fanatical preachers had often expressed that, if it were not for the divisions at home, "he would go and sack Babylon." All the explanation he chose to give was, that he prepared it to guard the seas, and to restore England to her natural dominion.

Of those whose personal attachment he had reason to suspect, General Venables was amongst the first: that officer had rendered eminent services to the parliament, in the relief of Dublin, and in all the principal actions fought in England; he was, therefore, become a powerful favourite with the army, and with Cromwell a rival in military glory*. The wary usurper had fathomed his principles, and discovered his designs; and he determined upon sending him on such an errand as should effectually remove him from all possible communication with the exiled court at Cologne. During five months, however, the project slept, or seemed to sleep; and the preparations for the expedition were almost for-

* See Note XLVIII.

gotten. Venables had accepted the proffered command, in the secret hope that it might enable him to serve his monarch, whose cause he now warmly espoused, although he clothed his designs under the garb of a parliamentary soldier. He imagined that, disguised as his sentiments were, he should be allowed to select his troops, and thus have the disposal of a formidable body of men, whose services might be required in the cause of the king. But here he erred: instead of his commanding a chosen army, the prison doors were thrown open, and their contents so plenteously disgorged, that, with the outcasts of the various regiments, they furnished the number necessary for his equipment. Still no orders were given for the departure of the fleet. The disappointed general remained in London, and had actually engaged in an active project for the restoration of the Royal Exile; but Cromwell was on the alert, penetrated his secret, and sent Desbrow to his lodgings at midnight, with orders that he should leave London, and embark immediately at Portsmouth. So little time did he give him, that even the store-ships were left behind; and the fleet was hurried out to sea about the middle of the stormy month of March, but no one knew its destination.

March, 1655.

Stoup, being one day called to Whitehall, saw Cromwell intently examining a new map of the bay of Mexico; and, not daring to ask a question, he merely noted the engraver's name. On the follow-

ing morning he visited the artist, to procure a copy; but the cautious printer denied all knowledge of the work, until Stoup declared that he had seen it. "Then," said he, "it must have been in the hands of the Protector, for he alone had one of the prints, and strictly charged me to sell no other without his permission."

Stoup immediately suspected the real destination of the fleet; and happening, on some public occasion, to mention his suspicions, the Spanish ambassador requested an immediate conference. Stoup attended, and was offered ten thousand pounds if he would discover the ground on which he had ventured to entertain such an idea. With candid simplicity he confessed to Bishop Burnet, "that he had a great mind to the money; and fancied he betrayed nothing if he did discover the ground of these conjectures, since nothing had been trusted to him; but he expected greater matters from Cromwell, and so kept the secret."

In the mean time the expedition had made an unsuccessful descent upon Hispaniola, and captured Jamaica; an acquisition inconsiderable to the disappointed hopes of the usurper, but greatly magnified, to cover the failure of the main design. The court of France was astonished at the undertaking—was rejoiced at the failure; and the Cardinal declared that, if he had suspected it, he would have concluded peace with Spain on any terms, rather than have given England the chance of possessing colonies which would have poured the wealth of the

world into her lap*. In November, however, France ratified her peace with England; and, in the following month, Spain declared war

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CONQUEST OF JAMAICA.

IT was early on the morning of the 3d of May, in the year 1655, after the Spaniards had been in possession of Jamaica one hundred and forty-six years, that the British fleet, compelled to relinquish its prey on the island of Hispaniola, and too much disheartened to pursue its ulterior object in Cuba, appeared off these shores. It carried a force of six thousand, five hundred, and fifty men; constituted, however, of such materials, that it had little chance of success except against that weak and slothful race here destined to oppose it †. The naval and military commanders were equally cramped in their powers, and divided in their operations; and their men were a mixture of all that was base, ignorant, and cowardly—led by some of the most bigoted enthusiasts of a puritanical age. Admiral Penn commanded the fleet, which consisted of about thirty vessels of all descriptions. Like Venables, he was sent on the expedition as one whose fidelity could not be trusted on domestic service.

1655. May 3d.

* Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times.

† See Note XLIX.

Over two such disaffected subjects, the wily usurper thought it necessary to place a watch, that the force committed to their management might not be employed in the service of the King, whose cause he was now satisfied that they both secretly espoused. He therefore appointed three Commissioners, Serle, Winslow, and Butler,—creatures of his own, who were invested with the power of controuling all their operations, and reporting all their acts. This arrangement necessarily destroyed every hope of co-operation, and caused divisions which were fatal to their success in Hispaniola, and productive of the most lamentable consequences in all their future undertakings. Such was the state of discipline amongst the troops, that the general, to prevent the recurrence of disasters similar to those which befell them at Rio Hayna, issued a general order that the first man who turned his back should be shot by his neighbour; and some basely suffered the ignominious fate.

Before day-break beacon fires were visible on various parts of the coast, which seemed to indicate that their approach was expected, and their descent prepared for. In this, however, they were mistaken; for, lulled in slothful security, the Spaniards had so little intercourse with the neighbouring islands, that the attack on Hispaniola was unknown to them; and the fleet had been perceived only a few hours before it came round the point of Caguaya. Sailing directly up to Passage Fort, the only fortification that

defended the capital, the galley which carried the two commanders covered the landing of the troops. After a very feeble opposition, the Spaniards were driven from their guns, and the British flag waved over one of the fairest islands in the world. Nine effective pieces of ordnance fell into the hands of the victors; while the terrified garrison, consisting of five hundred men, rushed into St. Jago, magnified the exploit, and spread the alarm.

The recollection of Jackson's predatory visit warned them of the supposed nature of the present attack: every thought of the surprised inhabitants was, therefore, directed to the speedy removal or concealment of the little treasure they possessed; for they expected that, as in the former invasions, the English would soon return to their ships, and leave them in the peaceable enjoyment of their habitual indolence. They possessed no organised force to resist such an attack; and contented themselves with sending a reconnoitring party on the savanna which encircled their town, to watch the approach of the enemy, and give them timely notice to withdraw.

As soon as they had gained possession of the fort, the British commanders held a council of war, in which it was resolved to invest the town the same afternoon; but finding the country immediately around them covered with thick wood, they returned, and remained that night under arms, reasonably apprehensive of ambuscade or surprise. At day-

break; however, they advanced, and cautiously approached the open plains, whence they obtained a distinct view of the town, which exhibited an outline of considerable extent, broken by the lofty turrets of the Abbey, and the glittering spires of several churches. They descried the Spanish scouts, who seemed disposed to parley. The troops were, therefore, halted; and an equal number of English officers were sent, with a flag of truce, to meet them. The Spaniards rode off, but presently re-appeared, made a stand, and expressed their readiness to treat.

Venables, in his defence against the charge of pusillanimity, for negotiating before a town which, in fact, was open to him, declared that his men could not be trusted in any conflict of a serious nature; that he was assured, by Jackson's previous invasion, of finding nothing there worth the risk of an assault; and that, by treating, he could lose no advantage, having his army to support him, while he gained a supply of fresh provisions for his famished men.

With prudence, or perhaps timidity, he therefore retreated again to the fort; and informed the Spanish authorities that he was ready to receive their terms, provided persons, duly commissioned, were sent to him for that purpose. On the following morning, the Abbot and the Town-major waited on him with proposals to capitulate, assuring him that, while the conditions were under discussion, he should be unmolested, and amply supplied with all he required. Venables informed them that the British

were come not to plunder, but to possess themselves of the Island; and that his troops required a daily supply of one hundred cattle, and cassava bread in proportion. The Spaniards were thunderstruck at the information and the demand; and then at once perceived the necessity of temporizing measures, in order to allow them to make such a retreat as would insure their possession of the interior parts of the island, until reinforcements could be procured from Cuba. They agreed, therefore, to what was required, as far as regarded the supply of cattle; but confessed that the whole island could not produce bread enough to meet the demand.

The commissioners, appointed by Venables, were Major-general Fortescue, and Vice-admiral Goodson, with Colonels Holdipe, and D'Oyley. Don Acosta, a noble Portuguese, was joined with the Town-major, on the part of the Spanish Governor, who was a man far advanced in years, humane, persevering, and valiant, but guided by the timid counsels of the Abbot, a crafty Jesuit, who persuaded him that his life, and even his soul, could only be saved by instant capitulation *. The terms were dictated in the trenches of the British general, whose wife's vanity was flattered by some valuable presents from the Governor: for Venables was endowed with the patient virtues of a husband, and has been accused, like Marlborough, of more than prudent subservience to female wit, or charms; although those

* See Note L.

charms had arrived at the autumnal ripeness of fifty-three years. Don Sasi, however, with more art than gallantry, preserved his own treasures from violence, by the sacrifice of these presents, and by persuading the credulous general not to let his troops wander near the town, where they might be way-laid, and murdered, by the treacherous mulattos.

The first six days were thus wasted by the British forces, and taken advantage of by the Spaniards in the removal of their property. Had the foolish old man been endowed with Castilian spirit, or common courage, he might have saved the island, by the resolution to fall. Had he listened to the advice of the bolder Portuguese officers, a sally on the half-formed camp would have dissipated the undisciplined troops, who would have ceased to be formidable when they ceased to be feared. The siege of St. Jago was an arduous enterprise for such men: courage would have given him time; time would have given him friends. The governor of Cuba would have armed for his interest; and his own many brave adventurers would have drawn their swords in his defence; and the novelty of danger, the lassitude of war, the chance of mortality, would have inclined his enemies to a safe and speedy evacuation. Far different, however, were the counsels of the timid Spaniard. On the 11th of May he submitted to a hard, and humiliating capitulation, and Don Acosta, with the Town-major, remained in the British lines, hostages for the performance of its terms.

The Governor, on a visit to the British Commander, was, soon afterwards, treacherously detained; to expiate an outrage committed in the town; where a Spanish colonel, bolder than the rest, had persuaded the inhabitants to transgress the first article of the treaty, by driving away the cattle into the interior, hoping thus to starve out their inexorable enemies. Don Acosta, hearing of this breach of faith, sent his priest, "a discreet negro," to remonstrate*; but the indignant Portuguese, refusing to subscribe to the cowardly terms, hanged the unfortunate ecclesiastic, and abandoned the Governor to his fate. He, however, soon escaped from his ill-disciplined guards; while Don Acosta, to revenge the death of his sable priest, assisted the British commander in recovering the cattle, by informing him whither they had been driven, and how they might be taken at their usual watering-places.

According to the terms of the treaty, the British troops had yet abstained from entering the town; and they did so some days longer,—the soldiers dispersing themselves throughout the country, and wantonly destroying the wild cattle in the woods—so that the resource they fancied inexhaustible soon began to fail. At length the General, finding the treaty was broken by the entire abdication of the Spaniards—that it had, in fact, served only to facilitate the clandestine removal of their effects, marched into St. Jago, and to his utter dismay found the town

* Manuscripts in the Council Chamber.

abandoned, the bare walls alone remaining, to disappoint the eager expectations of the outwitted invaders! The Spaniards had all retired; but they retired with a spirit of revenge. Some of the Portuguese, justly indignant at the oppressive terms imposed upon them, had persuaded all the inhabitants to follow them into the country, where they might be able to make a stand until they obtained assistance to expel their enemies. They, therefore, retreated to some settlements in those mountains which encompass the vale of Luidas, about eight leagues from the town, where the Governor soon joined them, with all the slaves and mulattos which his influence could collect.

Our imperfect view of the history of the times will afford some apology, or may even allow some praise for the extraordinary capitulation which enabled the Spaniards thus to escape into the mountains, loaded with the curses and the anticipated spoils of the British troops. Few of the events relating to that transaction were recorded, and few records have been preserved; but Venables underwent a severe ordeal before the enraged Protector, and his fame has suffered, though his friends were numerous.

The main body of the British army was immediately dispersed in quarters throughout the town, and upon the neighbouring estancias, where the officers selected the best houses, and abandoned the rest to the wanton depredations of their men, whose fanati-

cal fury was instantly displayed in the demolition of the sacred edifices of Papal worship. The Abbey, with the Red and the White Cross Churches, they levelled with the ground; the bells they melted into shot; and the principal houses were eagerly destroyed, in the fruitless search for treasures which they imagined must be concealed there. Outposts were established upon the surrounding savannas to prevent the enemy from approaching the provision grounds, and to protect those who might be disposed to cultivate more for the relief of their pressing necessities.

But dissensions arose, which frustrated all their plans, and deprived them of the fruits of conquest. The Admiral resented the cautious conduct of Venables, who had refused to ratify the appointment of his nephew to the lucrative and responsible situation of prize-master; and all harmony between the naval and military forces was now at an end. Twelve valuable Dutch prizes had been captured at Barbadoes, and followed the fleet to Jamaica: for Cromwell had determined upon putting an end to the carrying system of that nation. Venables appreciated the responsibility of the situation to which Penn arrogated the exclusive right of appointment, and insisted that some person should be joined in the office. The Admiral was offended at the hesitation, which bespoke a doubt of his honour; and this dispute fomented the jealous enmity which already subsisted between the Commanders, deprived the

army of the assistance of the fleet, and caused the most contradictory details in the reports of these rival chiefs.

One of the first and most fatal consequences of this want of co-operation, was the refusal of the supplies now so much needed*. Two thousand of the troops were sick, distressed for clothing, medicine, and food; yet none could be obtained from the peevish and inexorable Admiral, who despatched two vessels to the Camanas for turtle, and then provokingly consumed them all on board his fleet, while disease spread rapidly through the ranks of the famished army.

In the extremity of distress, parties were sent out to forage, and, into the woods of Lignania, to catch the wild Barbary horses, which were serviceable, not only in the pursuit of the enemy, but in hunting the cattle for food. Many of the troops thus fell into ambuscade; and the Spaniards, perceiving their distress, ventured upon the northern suburbs of St. Jago, and fired it in many places.

Although it be not mentioned in the despatches of the Commanders to Secretary Thurloe, there is little doubt that the French corsairs had joined the fleet in its attempt upon Hispaniola, and now assisted in the conquest of Jamaica, where their knowledge of the seas, their acquaintance with the Spanish language, which neither Penn nor Venables knew a word of, and above all, their experience in the art of bush-fighting, rendered their assistance most valu-

* See Note LI.

able. The orders given to the General instructed him to commence planting wherever he could gain a footing, and to settle the troops as soon as possible,—with the intent, no doubt, of preventing their return to England. It was for this reason that the soldiers had been encouraged to bring their wives. Venables had brought his, intending, if the climate agreed with him, to remain in the West Indies until he could render efficient service to the Royal Exile; and, with this object in view, he still retained his command in Ireland. The discord which now reigned between the Commanders, as well as the Commissioners, caused, however, so scanty a supply of the necessary implements of husbandry, that all his agricultural projects failed; and finding his endeavours frustrated and remonstrance vain, he addressed Thurloe. "A threefold cord" (I use his words) "cannot easily be broken; but when they twist not equally together they many times cut one another; and thus I am sure that in martial affairs, where commanders should execute like lightning, and those variable as the wind, according as the present emergency requires, and not go for consent, to the loss of all;—I well know his Highness would never submit, in all his past actions, to such curbs; nor can brave designs ever succeed with such bridles, which I hope will be amended."

By the 13th of June, some Portuguese prisoners had been captured; and many more would June. have submitted, had they not been apprehensive that no quarter would be given. Alarmed

at the violence of a few disorderly soldiers, who were driven, by extreme want, to acts of desperation, they still maintained their posts in the mountains, and were formidable to the wretched though victorious garrison of St. Jago.

The wary Admiral, apprehending the censures which might attach to his conduct from the report which Venables was preparing, now adopted the expedient of forestalling him, by returning directly to England with the chief strength of the fleet, and contrary to the strong remonstrances of the General. Butler, one of the Commissioners, who was charged by his brother officers with acts of the basest nature, determined to accompany him, that he also might make good his defence. Penn ostensibly grounded this proceeding upon the refusal of the General to quit Jamaica with the main body of the army, and to assist him in a descent upon Carthagena; a proposition which was objected to, as "it was not positive in his instructions." Venables was also in such ill health that he was unable to attend the council of war, which had voted his return to England for the purpose of reporting the state of the army, its ill success in Hispaniola, and its distress here. He apprehended a conspiracy against him by the friends of the Admiral, and those whose conduct he was compelled to censure: for he declared that "one day Butler came into his chamber, and finding symptoms of death, he and Butler smiled upon each other, which he observed with some trouble of

mind." The resolutions of the council of war determined Penn, therefore, to be the first in London; while Venables, with a disinterested spirit, delayed his own departure, that he might arrange the embarrassed affairs of the colony.

The seal of the close commission was therefore broken: it was endorsed "Not to be opened but in case of death, disability, or absence, of one, or both the commanders." Under this authority, Goodson took the command of that portion of the fleet which remained; and Fortescue, who had acted during the General's illness, succeeded to that of the army.

The freebooters were bringing in Spanish prizes every day; and these well-stored galleons at length enabled the troops to barter the hides, which they had obtained so plentifully, for the necessary supplies of food and clothing. This timely aid stopped the progress of the disease which had so rapidly thinned their ranks. Still, however, they were in great distress; a tropical summer soon melted the strength of the most robust, and they were reduced to half a biscuit a-day. They had abundance of fresh beef; but the growing crops of vegetables were destroyed by the disorderly excursions of the army on its first arrival; while the effects of the climate, and the alteration of diet, rendered their case almost desperate. Every endeavour was made to disperse the men throughout the country, by encouraging them to cultivate the deserted plantations of the Spaniards, or to form new settlements upon the southern shores;

but the ill health of the General, who felt the decay of life, deprived them of his active assistance; little progress was made, and the occupation of the island was almost despaired of. In this extremity, Venables received the instructions of another council of war*; and, finding himself incapacitated for all useful exertion, he quitted the island, leaving two commissioners, Serle and Winslow, who soon became the victims of that disease which still sweeps away so many thousands in these tropical regions.

July 18.

The first act of the new Commandant was to apply to Cromwell for clothing, implements of husbandry, and provisions: he required a supply of labourers from Scotland, with instructions to model a civil government; and he suggested the expediency of incorporating, with his fanatical followers, such a reinforcement of Irish veterans as might give activity to the colony. The council of state in England was, at the same moment, intent upon similar measures; for, to put some life into the wretched race it had consigned to Jamaica, and infuse a little native spirit, it determined to follow the example of the French in Canada, by transporting hither *one thousand Irish girls*†, with as many male labourers: while the Council of Scotland, with due regard for their morals, ordered all convicts to be transported to Jamaica. In the autumn, a large body of the

* See Note LII. † See Note LIII.

Spanish slaves submitted, and were made free; while many of the Portuguese inhabitants, weary of the miserable life which for the last five months they had been enduring in the woods, gave themselves up, and were shipped off to such destinations as they desired. The task of government, in this early state, required rather a strong than a skilful hand; and the situation of the army demanded the continuance of strict discipline and martial law. A considerable body of the Spanish fugitives yet held out, harassed the settlers, and often approached the town. A spirit of discontent also manifested itself amongst the troops. When they found that preparations were made for the settlement of the country, and that the Protector had sent out his proclamation* to that effect, they suspected that they were destined never more to see their native land. Experience had yet proved Jamaica to be no very desirable place of banishment, and still no better prospect opened to their view; for, although they had hitherto been able to procure wild cattle and hogs in abundance, their wasteful improvidence already rendered the supply precarious, and barely sufficient. Many of the officers, disappointed in their expectations of plunder, secretly inflamed the disobedience of their men; and hoped, by discouraging agriculture, and so throwing the expense of maintenance upon the government, that their recall from a country they had so much reason to detest would speedily ensue.

* See Note LIV.

In this state Sedgewick found the colony when he arrived, bearing Cromwell's commission to supply the place of Butler. In one of his first despatches he complained, that, "the soldiers had destroyed all sorts of provisions and cattle; that they would neither dig nor plant, but were determined rather to starve than work." And starve they shortly did; a famine ensued; every species of unwholesome food was eagerly devoured; and contagion ran rapidly through their ranks. The deaths amounted to more than two hundred weekly; and the living gazed on each other's livid faces with horror and despair. The thousand tons of provisions, which the new commissioner had brought, were inadequate to check the flaming disease; and Fortescue himself became one of its earliest and most regretted victims.

In virtue of the commission which Sedgewick had brought, Colonel D'Oyley, a soldier of fortune, succeeded to the command; and, under this active officer, the new recruits were assisted by the sailors in the erection of a storehouse and a military depôt at Passage Fort. The provident measures which he adopted, checked, in some degree, the progress of disease; and a strict discipline once more restored subordination. At this crisis Colonel Humphrey—whose father had borne the sword before Bradshaw, at the mock trial of the unfortunate Charles—arrived from England, with his regiment, of eight hundred men; but, within a fortnight, more than two-thirds were numbered with the dead. Sedgewick tried

every means in his power to fix the remaining men on the plantations allotted to them; but their idle prejudices counteracted all his schemes, frustrated all his hopes, and proved their own destruction. The sailors alone were actively employed; for the contagion had not yet reached the fleet. Cruisers were sent out, which captured several valuable prizes; plundered some settlements on the main; and, in an expedition to the north side of the island, dislodged a formidable party of the enemy. While the crews in harbour were planting a small spot of ground, still called Green Bay, the army around them admired their activity, wondered at their patience, but remained inactive—tamely suffering the horrors of disease, and the pangs of famine. Nor was the situation of the expelled fugitives better than that of their invaders. To the number of three hundred they were now collected on the banks of the Rio Hoja, exposed to the inclemency of the autumnal season, destitute of shelter, and distressed for food. Yet this little band of patriots was resolved to bear its hard lot; still entertaining the hope that their invaders, when they found nothing to reward their conquest, would evacuate the island, as their predecessors had done. The eight families, their principal landholders, had already retreated to Cuba, leaving their slaves to defend their properties; and A.D. 1655. Don Sasi himself was at length compelled to withdraw—first instructing a few small parties, under a maestro del campo, to disperse themselves

through the country, and keep up the form of possession until assistance should arrive. The little village of Paratté had already been burnt by a detachment of the English troops; and, early in the spring, another party was sent into the same neighbourhood, where they discovered the dead bodies of two of their comrades, and several Spanish slaves concealed in the ruins. By them they were informed that the negroes, deserted by their masters, were still resolved to hold the country as long as any cattle remained for them to subsist on. Twenty Spaniards were found in ambush, and seven of them captured. These people confessed themselves to belong to a party of forty, who had fled to the north side when Paratté had been destroyed; and that a reinforcement of one thousand men was daily expected to land at Pedro, from Carthagena; while an army from Spain was to make a descent at Passage Fort. They declared that they had been sent back to Paratté by their maestro del campo, who was then collecting all his scattered men to join the expected forces.

A.D. 1656.

The Viceroy of Mexico ordered the Spanish refugees to return to Jamaica, and forbade the Governor of Cuba to allow their residence on that island; at the same time promising every assistance for the recovery of their own. To these rigorous mandates they were reluctantly compelled to submit. Arriving again on the north side of the country, they dispersed themselves in small parties, hoping to elude

the vigilance of their pursuers, until sufficiently strong to face them in the field. But this miserable mode of life, so little resembling their luxurious laziness in St. Jago, rapidly thinned their ranks; so that, when the promised assistance of five hundred men actually arrived, they were still too weak to show themselves, and retreated to an entrenchment at San Cheireras, waiting for a further reinforcement.

During these transactions, Cromwell, disappointed by the miscarriage at St. Domingo, feigned much dissatisfaction at the paltry acquisition of Jamaica, and declared that he could spare no additional force to recruit the diseased troops, or to maintain so worthless an appendage to his government. It has been justly observed, however, that the island he despised, is now, under all its past difficulties, yielding a larger revenue to Great Britain than did the entire amount of the national income in the Protector's time. As soon as his vexation had evaporated, he exerted himself, with his usual vigour, to afford relief, by sending out provisions and supplies of every description. He discovered also the high value which the Spanish government set upon the island, and he determined to maintain a conquest which annoyed a detested enemy so much. Sedgewick was therefore directed to strengthen the principal harbour by an adequate fortification; and a battery was erected at Careening Point, mounting twenty-one pieces of ordnance, but protected only

by a rude wall of stockades and loose stones—a work which the army refused to join in, and which was completed by the seamen alone. The redoubt at Passage Fort was also repaired, for the protection of the depôt there; and two companies in each regiment having been reduced, D'Oyley exerted himself to put the remainder into an effective state. The disgraced St. Christopher's regiment, composed of the very dregs of the armament, was disbanded, and dispersed throughout the island; so that the remaining force of two thousand five hundred men, disburdened of such useless members, became both more healthy and more serviceable; yet not at all more inclined to enter upon the labours of cultivation around its quarters. A military spirit, fostered during the turbulent times in England, rendered both officers and men dissatisfied with their civil inactivity, and anxious to be carried on some more profitable expedition to the main. The fleet consisted of twenty-three vessels; and it was with reluctance that the Vice-admiral found himself compelled, by the threatening posture of affairs, to keep them confined in port. But the apprehension of a Spanish invasion, strengthened by the information of the Paratté captives, rendered it necessary to concentrate all the forces; while a common sense of danger, now, for the first time, united the army and navy in their services for mutual safety and support.

A council of war was called, and thirty acres of land were allotted to each soldier, as an encourage-

ment for the culture of provisions. Yet all the inducements offered, or reasons urged, to excite a spirit of industry, were of no avail; for the dissentient officers, who constituted a large majority, desiring their recall from unprofitable service, secretly influenced their men to transgress the orders which they had thus officially given. The few who really wished to promote the provident scheme, now therefore despaired of subduing this unconquerable aversion: and Sedgewick represented the matter to Cromwell; who, after instructing him to form a troop of cavalry, to oppose the threatened invasion, thus concluded his despatch:—"As we have cause to be humbled" (such was the language of the age) "for the reproof God gave us at St. Domingo, upon the account of our sins, as well as others, so truly upon the reports brought hither to us of the extreme avarice, pride, and confidence, disorders, and debauchedness, profaneness, and wickedness, practised among the army, we cannot but bewail the same."

A party, which had been despatched to catch the wild Barbary horses for the projected troop, went down thirty miles to leeward, and encountered a body of Spaniards. A warm engagement ensued; four women only were captured, and these were brought to St. Jago. Success encouraged the enemy: they continued to harass the army even in its quarters; and, as the British grew more secure and careless, the Spaniards became more enterprising and sanguinary. To such banditti the Castilians

had long before applied the name of *Cimaronos*; whence the English word maroons* ; and Sedgewick, in his letter to Thurloe, prophesied truly, that these people would one day become formidable:—"Be assured they must either be destroyed, or brought in upon some terms or other, or else they will prove a great discouragement to the settling of people here." What he foretold was shortly experienced: within a few months, the partial success of a small detachment, sent against the fugitives, was severely retaliated by the cold-blooded butchery of forty British soldiers; and thus commenced a servile and sanguinary war, which was kept up, with little intermission, during a hundred and forty years.

Provisions soon began to fail again: nothing could induce the soldiery to plant, even for their own consumption; and the few who were cultivating the Spanish settlements raised barely sufficient to supply themselves. A party of Colonel Buller's regiment, harassed by hostile incursions, and distressed by their scanty fare, revolted; and the instant execution of the ringleaders scarcely staid the general defection. Sedgewick, tired of his heavy charge, which he had repeatedly petitioned to resign, now received the Protector's orders to assume the sole command, which hitherto he had divided with D'Oyley. But disappointment and difficulty everywhere thwarted him; his spirits were broken, sick-

* See Note LV.

ness assailed him, and his worldly troubles were terminated by the hand of death. Colonel D'Oyley, for the second time, now succeeded to the embarrassments and honours of Commander-in-chief. This brave officer, who still maintained a secret correspondence with his Royal Master, possessed every desire to establish the colony; but both his temper and his abilities were better adapted to a military than to a civil form of government. His habits of life had blinded him to the interests of commerce, and he allowed his prejudice to conquer his judgment, or bias his decrees. Martial law was again strictly enforced; but its administration was arbitrary and unjust. Colonel Holdip rendered himself obnoxious by becoming an active planter, and recommending a civil government; he was therefore charged with oppression by his men, and eagerly cashiered by his general, though afterwards restored to favour by the Protector. Major Throckmorton was shot; and D'Oyley, acquainted with the dissatisfaction which his conduct occasioned, resolved, at the point of the bayonet, to suppress its apprehended consequences. Barrington and Archbould, for their diligence in opening new plantations in the Lignany district, became objects of aversion; and there is reason to believe that they also would have been sacrificed, had not Barrington's brother been one of the lords of the bedchamber to Cromwell. The military faction was therefore obliged to rest satisfied

with exhibiting charges against him, as one in the interest of the Royal Exile; and he was tried, but acquitted.

The Spaniards of Cuba were now actively employed in the protection of their own shores. Threatened by the English cruisers, and reduced by an epidemical disease, they were in no condition to attempt the recovery of Jamaica. Cromwell, astonished at the value which they had set upon the possession of it, was intent upon the defence of his conquest and the augmentation of his forces. He ordered out Colonel Moore's well-disciplined regiment, from Carrickfergus; but the transport was wrecked, and only two hundred men escaped a watery grave. Lieutenant-general Brayne, the governor of Lochaber, was appointed to succeed Sedgewick; and sailed from Port Patrick with a thousand recruits; while Governor Stokes, with sixteen hundred men from Nevis, arrived, and settled near Port Morante, where his descendants of the same name, for many succeeding years, possessed extensive lands. Such examples were not lost upon the settlers in New England, whom the Protector had hitherto vainly solicited to remove hither. Gookin, his agent there, began to recruit with extraordinary success: he convinced them that the reports prejudicial to Jamaica were greatly exaggerated; and three hundred substantial inhabitants of that colony removed, bringing with them a spirit of industry, and the means of displaying it. Brayne

touched at Barbadoes, and painting in lively colours the superior advantages of the island he was coming to govern, he persuaded some active planters to accompany him.

In December he landed, and D'Oyley was again superseded in the government. The colony was in the utmost confusion; the disinclination to labour increased amongst the troops, and violent animosities existed in all the departments. But he discovered that all these disorders originated with a few disaffected officers, the most turbulent of whom he discreetly permitted to retire; and soon perceived the good effects of this well-timed indulgence. The men, no longer awed, or no longer led, sought a relaxation from strict military discipline in the less arduous labours of the field, which the luxuriance of a teeming soil rendered far more profitable and less toilsome than they had imagined. Their agricultural ardour was roused and maintained by a six months' supply of provisions; and by five hundred guineas distributed amongst the men who had laboured upon the fortifications. The Governor recommended that a general liberty of trade with all nations at peace with England should immediately be granted; and this measure had some effect in encouraging the settlers to improve their plantations. But sickness assailed him, and the difficulties he had to contend with urged him to solicit a recall: he therefore tendered his resignation by Goodson, who was sailing

Dec. 14.

A.D. 1657.

for England with a fleet of nine ships. The industry of the Nevis planters had afforded some hopes of success; but Stokes died, and the greater part of his people were buried within the first three months. A great proportion of the recruits were also dead; and, before the crops could be gathered, provisions failed, and famine again threatened the unfortunate colony. Nor were there any hopes of a further supply from New England. The condition of Jamaica was now worse than ever: the last extremities of distress and hunger assailed the troops, and the prospect was on all sides black and comfortless, for the seamen now shared in the general calamity. The wild cattle afforded the only hope of relief: the salt-works, established in Healthshire, were therefore suspended, and all the inhabitants joined in the eager search for food.

One of these hunting parties intercepted some Spaniards, from whom they learnt that the greater part of their unfortunate countrymen had again returned to Cuba, in vessels expressly sent by the governor, who was in the utmost distress for people to defend its southern shores: that about two hundred men, women, and children, were still left; and that they had taken up a position at Oristan. Thence they were quickly driven by a detachment sent to attack them; and these wretched exiles were again hunted into the interior recesses of the country. But the English dreaded a surprise from a much more formi-

dable body, hourly expected from Spain; and they were in no condition to oppose it. The governor, therefore, sent home two frigates, to solicit speedy assistance; and it was on board these that a few tons of fustic, the first exported produce of the island, were put, by some officers more enterprising than their comrades.

As the year advanced, the most pressing necessities of the colonists were again partially relieved by the matured, though scanty, products of the plantations; and by the seasonable success of the hunting parties. The earth yielded so plenteous an increase, that the army at length discovered the advantage of attending more closely to its cultivation. Both officers and men were encouraged to open plantations, yet still to hold themselves in readiness to combine and act as occasion might require. Jamaica was thus vivified by rising industry. A force of five hundred men was kept under arms; and the settlements increased so rapidly, that the General hoped, in a short time, to dispense with all assistance from the parent government, excepting only the maintenance of those who were on permanent duty. Colonel Barrington, with his whole regiment, was one of the earliest and most successful planters; and prosperity, the usual attendant upon active industry, dawned upon a colony, which increased with its growing independence. Horses were still so plentiful, that they were to be purchased at forty shillings

each; and the arrival of the fleet, with some victuallers, from England, gave fresh spirit to the colonists.

July.

The judicious policy of Brayne was rewarded by a large and happy increase. But the arts of cultivation have far less energy and effect than the spontaneous vigour of nature, and of freedom. The vigour of the soldiers, who were now urged to labour beyond their strength, soon melted beneath a vertical sun; many who possessed not the means to settle plantations of their own, sold their services to their more fortunate neighbours, and perished beneath the toils imposed upon them. The Governor, in this emergency, applied to the Protector for a supply of indentured servants, or an importation of African slaves; urging, that "their masters having by this means an interest in their servants, would be more careful of them, and work them more moderately." The military operations carrying on in Flanders held out a great inducement to many of the men here, to abandon their colonial pursuits and engage in that service; and this martial spirit was confirmed by the non-payment of the arrears due to them, while Vavassor, Buller, and others, on their arrival in England, had been paid in full. Brayne, however, contrived, by his judicious management, to suppress this military mania, and the buildings at Careening Point still proceeded rapidly.

This new town he had projected as a naval and military depôt, and an emporium for future trade.

He established a small colony at Tortuga, to prevent its exclusive occupation by the French, and erected extensive salt-works there. But the active exercise of his mental and bodily faculties exhausted his weak frame, and he died, a victim to his exertion, after a residence of ten months, during which period his spirited management, and prudent policy, had quelled the factions that had caused so much trouble to his predecessors, won the affections of the people, and founded the two great pillars of the colony—planting, and commerce. He was buried in St. Jago, and the chief command for the third time devolved upon D'Oyley. But this officer having been so often, and so rudely superseded, and expecting, perhaps, another speedy dismissal, feigned disinclination to accept it; wishing, probably, to convince Cromwell, by an apparent reluctance, that his views were disinterested, and that the suspicions were unjust which ranked him as a partisan of royalty. He prayed for leave to return to England, and recommended Colonel Barrington as his successor. His letters to Fleetwood, and to the Protector, were not couched in terms the most modest or discreet. "Your Highness," he observes to Cromwell, "is not to be told how difficult it is to command an army without pay; and I tremble to think of the discontents I am to struggle withal until the return of your commands; though, I bless God, I have the affections of the people here beyond any that ever yet commanded them, and a spirit of mine

Sept. 2.

own not to sink under the weight of unreasonable discontents."—To Fleetwood he writes—"I would have refused to accept of this command, if I could have quitted with honour and faithfulness to my country; but I am now resolved to go through, until I receive further orders from his Highness, or a discharge from him, which I humbly desire your Lordship to effect for me. Honours and riches are not the things I aim at. I bless God I have a soul much above them. Pray, my Lord, decline your greatness, and command your secretary to give me an answer; for if I were disrobed of all my titles of honour and great command, yet you know I am a gentleman, and a faithful friend to my country."

The style of these letters conveys a strong impression of what were the desires and designs of Colonel D'Oyley. And his projects for a time succeeded: for instead of accepting his proffered resignation, Cromwell confirmed him in the permanent command of the island. Fortunately, his vigorous administration overcame the obstacles which were opposed to him. His military predilection engaged the affections and secured the services of the army, at a time when the recovery of Jamaica became an object of great national concern to Spain; and probably it is to his defence of it that Britain owes her present possession. The Viceroy of Mexico, whose power was then great, formed a plan, and made admirable dispositions, for the destruction of the English settlers, and the recapture of the island. The scheme

was developed in an intercepted letter from Bayona, the governor of Cuba, to John de los Reyes, a Spanish resident of some repute; and D'Oyley once again found a field for the exercise of his martial talents. The plan of action was drawn with more than ordinary caution by the wily Spaniard. The point of attack was to be Port Morante; for there much discontent already prevailed amongst the Nevis planters, and a landing might be easily effected. There were about twelve hundred negro slaves on the island, and Reyes (a worthy predecessor of the insidious Lescesne) was instructed to send some of the Spanish negroes, who still hovered about the country, to incite insurrections, and prepare them for a simultaneous revolt. It was likewise determined to give no quarter to the English. Sasi again collected in Cuba all his surviving subjects, was promised a reinforcement of eight hundred men from Spain, with a strong detachment from Carthagena; and the foolish old man flattered himself with the prospect of certain success. He even despatched a letter to his sovereign, commending his royal decree for the recovery of an island so important to his Indian empire; and assured him that he would speedily bring it under his dominion again. But he was soon awakened from this dream of ambition, and his prospects were blasted for ever.

D'Oyley had scarcely time to take the necessary steps to counteract his menaced approach, when he received intelligence that Don Sasi had actually

landed at San Cheireras, and was collecting his scattered parties throughout the island. He therefore resolved to attack him, before his forces could form a junction; and, with a body of five hundred chosen men, he sailed in quest of him—for the interior woods and guarded passes forbade a shorter approach to his position. So rapid was his motion, so vigorous his command, that the Spaniards were surprised: he commenced the assault with such determined bravery, that they were instantly driven from their rude works, and those who did not bleed beneath the British sword, fled in disorder to the woods, where Sasi would have been taken, had not his brave and faithful adherents defended, with persevering arms, their aged and unfortunate leader. These fugitives continued to distress the colony: they often prevailed in the surprise and stratagems of excursive hostility; and the traces of their footsteps were lost in the impervious woods, or deep lagoons, with which the country was covered.

The assistance they had so long expected, at A.D. length, however, arrived; and had, in fact, 1658. been disembarked a considerable time before D'Oyley received any intelligence of its appearance. The reinforcement consisted of a thousand regulars from Spain; and they immediately erected a redoubt, of no inconsiderable strength, on the rocky sea-girt cliff, to the westward of the Rio Nuevo, where it empties itself into the sea. Seven hundred and fifty men were selected to attack them; and

eleven days after sailing from Passage Fort, they appeared off the Bay; landed within musket-shot of the fort, drove in the party which opposed them, and killed an officer, with twenty-three men. Under a heavy fire from six guns, D'Oyley attempted to bring his ships to bear upon the fortification; but the rocky steep on which it was erected forbade the necessary elevation of the cannon, and no effectual impression could be made. He was resolved, however, to maintain his ground, and pursue the advantages he had already gained, although against numbers greatly superior. He therefore ordered the ladders to be prepared, and spent the night in making the necessary disposition for a coup-de-main: while the Spaniards, less active in their defence, passed the time in prayer, and placed all their hopes on that Being who loves justice, and punishes the plunderer.

June 22.

At break of day D'Oyley despatched a flag of truce to summon the rightful owners of the island instantly to submit to terms; and he desired his messenger to notice the approaches to the fort, with the depth of the river below it. The envoy was admitted to the governor, presented with twenty-five pieces of eight for himself, and a jar of sweetmeats for his general, but charged with a bold refusal to surrender. D'Oyley was exasperated by this polite defiance; but the day was too far advanced to commence the assault, and in a stormy night his men found their only shelter in the rocks.

On the following morning he laid two of his ships to leeward, and by a vigorous fire drew the attention of the enemy to that quarter. He brought his other vessels to bear in front, and at the same instant fording the river, he came up with an advanced post of the Spaniards, who had taken a position on the rising ground about six hundred yards from the fort, and fortified their front by trenches. They were driven in by the first desperate onset; and the British, observing the walls lowest on that side, rushed on with an impetuosity which seemed to announce and secure the victory, carrying with them their ladders and hand-grenades. The fortress was instantly assailed. Five times did they mount to the assault—but they were repulsed five times with slaughter and dismay. British courage at length prevailed:—the Spaniards, disconcerted by the persevering intrepidity of the attack, fired at random; while their spirited assailants poured a volley of small arms through the loop-holes, and effected a dreadful carnage amongst them, crowded as they were within the narrow compass of their little fort. Their flankers were carried; and the survivors, finding themselves under a cross fire, rushed out upon the plain. After a contest of an hour, the English slew, or drove into the river, two hundred men; and the glory of the day was ascribed to Colonel D'Oyley, who fought in the foremost ranks. Some sought refuge upon the rocky cliffs, which the sailors perceiving, they

put off in boats, and shot them like birds upon the crags. The field was covered with the bodies of the hapless Spaniards, and in the hot pursuit some adventurous British officers became the victims of their own rashness. The Spaniards lost three hundred and eighty privates, several captains, one serjeant-major, and two priests: their royal standard and ten colours were taken; and six captains, with about a hundred privates, were made prisoners. Ten barrels of powder were found in the fort, with abundance of shot; six guns, small arms, wine, brandy, and provisions: a most welcome store to recruit the exhausted conquerors. The English had to lament the loss of Captains Wiseman, Mears and Robinson, with Ensign Farrer, and twenty-three privates. The fort was immediately demolished; the fugitives pursued into the interior, again dislodged, and more prisoners taken. The victory was decisive and complete.

The Spaniards again took care of their unfortunate governor. They covered him with their bodies during the assault, and effectually protected him in all their future skirmishes. They now, however, despaired of conquest; and many withdrew in small parties to Cuba. Yet Sasi still remained unwilling to resign his pretensions to the government of Jamaica, as long as he could retain a man to support his claim. But the news of this last signal defeat soon deprived him of all hope; for the Spanish fleet

of fifteen ships, which had been destined to take in auxiliary troops at Carthagena, now altered its course, and made the best of its way to the Havanna.

The success of the British arms in this brilliant exploit effaced the stain which they had received in Hispaniola, and convinced the enemy that the colony possessed spirit and strength sufficient to maintain its conquest. D'Oyley returned to his capital: he found the seas open to him; his military ardour was roused by his success; the flame of enthusiasm was kindled in every martial bosom, and he resolved, with eight hundred men, to make a descent upon the Spanish main. There he destroyed the town of Tolu, burnt ten galleons, and loaded his ships with spoil. On his return he sent a detachment to Pedro Point, where the straggling Spaniards were again uniting; he drove them from their retreat, and chased them back to their trackless woods.

Jamaica was now confirmed by conquest as a British possession. Secure in their properties, the inhabitants applied themselves to the improvement of the plantations; and cultivation was rapidly extended. Three hundred settlers arrived from Bermuda, with some industrious Quakers, who had been driven from Barbadoes; and the progress of their settlements as they opened the woods added to their mutual security, while it gave them a more promising prospect of a fertile island. The consequence was, that its productions soon found their way, from the interior, to Caguaya, already become the mercan-

tile depôt. Hides, salt, dye-woods, tobacco and tortoise-shell, were at first the principal articles of export: while the lawless spoils of the ocean, conbuted to the wealth of the rising town. Captain Muins, of the Marston Moor, sacked several towns on the continent, and returned with immense booty. A spirited attack was also made on Santa Martha; and the freebooters, by barter, or sale, here found a ready market for their plunder. The prizes which daily fell into the hands of these corsairs, whose sails whitened the ocean, poured their rich cargoes on the shore at Caguaya, and were the chief source of that wealth which long afterwards distinguished Jamaica as the first of Britain's colonies. The glittering treasures of Mexico and Peru were borne to the Jamaica storehouses, both by their British and foreign captors. Here the Freebooters found themselves more protected, or less restrained than elsewhere; while they obtained a readier and better market for their extraordinary spoil *. Here, too, their prodigality was unlimited; every refinement of luxury was placed within their reach; and an inordinate indulgence often reduced them to the extremities of distress, or the agonies of despair. Poverty, in the midst of plenty, whetted their appetites for more plunder, and urged them to fly in quest of new adventures. Thus was Jamaica profited by their vicissitudes of fortune, and drew its wealth from those vices which were both the source of her riches, and the ruin of

* See Note LVI.

her treasures. For these pirates were naturally diminished by their own murderous activity; while the funds which they left in the hands of their agents, were appropriated by these usurpers as unjust and cruel as themselves, and became the basis of that opulence which enabled Jamaica to open a commerce *interlope* with all the Spanish possessions. The regular trade was chiefly confined to the North American states.

Thus, under the shadow of D'Oyley's power, Caguaya arose on a broad and permanent basis; while the erection of a naval depôt, and the establishment of a custom-house, declared the riches and the hopes of the colony. The frigates on the station gave the enemy such continual annoyance by cruising off the Havanna, and obstructing all intercourse with that place, that the Spaniards found themselves obliged to carry home much of their treasure by the way of Buenos Ayres; a circuitous course which had been disused since the reign of Elizabeth, when it was interrupted by the numerous English adventurers in those seas.

Although D'Oyley's efforts to expel the Spaniards had been crowned with such signal success, yet their negroes still continued troublesome to the country settlers, by encouraging their slaves to rebel, or tempting them to desert. Finding themselves abandoned by their owners, some few joined the English, and assisted in the destruction of their fellows; but the majority, assuming the character of a wild and

roving banditti, murdered their Maestro del Campo, and elected one of their gang, named Juan de Bolas, whose head-quarters—a steep mountain in St. John's parish—still bear his name. Sasi, unable longer to command, was compelled to implore the aid and protection of this negro; and they maintained themselves in the interior woods upon the plunder of the adjacent plantations. But the constant fear of surprise compelled them at length to think of terms, and D'Oyley imposed conditions which were accepted. About forty still, however, held out,—amongst the number Juan de Bolas, and the old governor, who retired into the most inaccessible fastnesses, where they nestled until they grew strong enough, by the accession of runaway slaves, to repeat their depredations, and give rise to that species of warfare which, according to the prediction of Sedgewick, so long harassed the colony. Too weak to conquer, they were yet strong enough to injure and annoy.

The population of Jamaica was at this period estimated at about four thousand five hundred whites, and fourteen hundred negroes; and the late success of the colonists arrested the attention of the Protector, who supplied the island liberally with all that it could require for its maintenance and protection. But its internal peace had nearly been broken by the inundation of royalists, who abandoned the country and the cause they could no longer maintain; hoping to find, in the New

1659.

World, that rest and consolation which their defeats had deprived them of in the Old. The turbulent spirit, which had so long and so cruelly torn asunder the nearest ties of kindred at home, followed them across the Atlantic. One party triumphed in the protection of Cromwell, whom it had raised upon the ruins of the throne; while the other reposed all confidence in the impartial government of D'Oyley; who, although forced to bend beneath the authority of a despot, was not, they suspected, sincerely in his cause. His firm and able conduct dissipated all the machinations of his enemies, while it drew around him the best services of his friends; and he discreetly held the balance equal between the faction he detested, and the party he espoused. The command remained with him until the restoration of the Royal Exile; for the decoration of whose crown he had, with such rare policy, preserved one of its richest gems.

Cromwell died * on the 3rd of September 1658; and his son Richard paid but little attention to this part of the world. In the following year the Rump Parliament was up, and Jamaica was again left to her own resources. We find, indeed, that a charge to the Commonwealth had been made of 110,228*l.* 11*s.* 3½*d.*; for the maintenance of the forces here; and according to Long, the annual issues from that period until the Restoration, were to the amount of about 54,000*l.* But in this statement there seems

* See Note LVII.

to be some error or deception:—for it is certain that the army served a considerable part of the time without pay; and it is probable that a considerable portion of this charge was a fraud upon the exchequer.

A monthly court-martial met at St. Jago for the despatch of business, at which D'Oyley was assisted by Major Fairfax and Captain Burroughs; but this species of government grew irksome as the affairs of the country became complex, and threw provoking obstacles in the way of the planters, which encouraged the prevailing complaint, that the governor was not friendly to their interests. No doubt he preferred a military command to a civil one; and happily the spoils of the ocean amply compensated for any deficiency which he might have caused in the fruits of the land; for trade flourished under all its disadvantages, provisions were cheap, the island was abundant, and the people healthy. The buccaneers made it their principal resort, and poured in such vast treasures, that the military inhabitants amassed considerable wealth with little difficulty, while they despised the more peaceful occupations of honest labour.

In the spring, D'Oyley received information that his old antagonist, Sasi, was lying destitute on the north side of the island; he therefore ordered out Colonel Tyson with a detachment of eighty men, and a party of his new negro allies, to take him. After a tedious march through

1660.

mountain forests, they found the unfortunate object of their search,—who, for his courage and perseverance, deserved a better fate,—posted on the hill above San Cheireras, with one hundred and thirty-three men, the sad remnant of his former government. The spot is marked in the grounds of Shaw Park by a piece of heavy ordnance still lying there. Here the Spanish blacks, now in the English service, rendered great assistance by their knowledge of the country, and led the advance into such a position, that, by their first fire, the second in command of the Spanish force was killed; the rest fled, and about fifty were slain by their pursuers. All these ineffective attempts at length convinced Sasi that he was too weak to succeed in an enterprise which he could neither execute nor abandon; and he reluctantly submitted to the decrees of fate. The British troops pursued him to a little bay about eight miles to the westward of the ruins at Seville; thence he escaped in a canoe, and ended his days in the bosom of peace and christianity, by retiring to a monastery in Spain. The spot from whence he embarked still retains the name of Runaway Bay.

From thence Tyson returned to San Cheireras, where a vessel lay at anchor, which the Spaniards had employed to bring to them their monthly supplies from Cuba. The better to secure themselves, its crew had placed scouts throughout the neighbourhood to give alarm on the approach of an enemy; for they yet knew not the fate of their friends,

Tyson had intelligence of this, secured their scouts, made himself master of the vessel, and returned to Caguaya in her. The few remaining Spaniards who had eluded his search, embraced the earliest opportunity of effecting their escape from an island which they now despaired of regaining. About twenty negroes only remained in the mountains, who joined the runaway slaves; and the English, thus become the undisputed masters of Jamaica, were no more disturbed by the vain pretensions of the exterminated Castilians. In the summer, these twenty Spanish slaves, wearied with their wretched mode of life, surrendered, with their commander Juan de Bola, and were made free; while their captain was presented with a commission to resume his command in the English service. Another party of negroes, called the Vermahollis gang, was destroyed by a detachment under Captain Ballard; and not more than fifty still held out.

D'Oyley was anxious to subdue these fifty rebels before he relaxed the severity of martial law, that there might remain no nucleus around which any disaffected slaves could rally; but the planters desired a civil government, and the soldiers, kept so long under the rigours of regimental discipline, without pay, became dissatisfied: they considered themselves neglected, and they still entertained a hope that the parliament would recall them; for they were still ignorant of the Restoration. These discontents caused a meeting at Guanaboa, of the

regiment of Tyson, which had been formerly commanded by Barrington; and, instigated by Raymond, the men unanimously declared that they would no longer live under military restraint. The two colonels made a pretence of the good reception which D'Oyley gave to the Cavaliers, to persuade the veterans attached to them by long service under Cromwell, that he encouraged so many of the Royal party with a view to the expulsion of the Parliament men; and this conviction determined them to set up Raymond in D'Oyley's place. They raised the standard of revolt, and proclaimed their purpose of settling the island under a civil government, electing constables, and apportioning the country to certain detachments of their adherents. The conspiracy was discovered, and the enterprise failed; not, however, before the mutineers had entered Saint Jago, and were joined by many who were panting for the extermination of the Royalists. D'Oyley saw that the danger was imminent, and was compelled to suppress it by such an act as might strike terror into the breasts of the minor actors in the plot. He immediately put himself at the head of the Royalists, drove the conspirators from the town, and captured both Raymond and Tyson. Major Hope of the Liguany regiment assisted in the suppression of this rebellion, by prevailing on the greater part of the men to abandon these disaffected officers to their fate; yet so much was D'Oyley alarmed at the threatening consequences of his pre-

Aug. 2.

sent unpopularity, that he had ordered a transport to be in readiness at Passage Fort, to receive him in case of failure. The fortunate issue of the affair rendered other measures necessary. He summoned a court-martial, and, although unauthorised by any express commission to punish such offences capitally, the two colonels were condemned to be shot upon the ground on which they stood: while their adherents were pardoned or punished according to the magnitude of their offences, or the measure of their power. The valiant Raymond (he deserves that praise) met his fate with a magnanimity worthy of a better cause; but his fellow-sufferer, who so recently after his gallant exploit in freeing the island from the last remaining Spaniards, had unwarily pledged himself to a participation in a crime from which he could not retreat, appeared overwhelmed by the magnitude of his offence, and the ignominy of his end. The trial and execution of these officers took place under a tamarind tree, described as growing near the river below the old Hall of Audience; and tradition still points out the spot.

To disappoint the last hopes of the Parliament party, only twelve days after this violent attack upon the Royalists, a man-of-war arrived with the union jack at the mast-head; and communicated intelligence of the Restoration, which had taken place on the 29th of the preceding May. The news was received with every demonstration of joy; a day was appointed for the solemn proclamation of

Aug. 14th.

King Charles II.; and while the inhabitants of St. Jago were thus employed, another of his Majesty's ship's appeared in the offing, and seeing the rejoicings on shore, fired a royal salute as she entered the harbour. These ships came away, however, without orders, and brought only vague intelligence of what was passing in England. No instructions reaching the Governor, the people conceived that they should all be called off immediately, and that the island would be restored to the Spaniards, with whom Charles had long been leagued. This very natural suspicion put an immediate stop to the business of the colony; the sugar-works were thrown up; the plantations dismantled; and every white inhabitant prepared to quit the island. The mischievous growth of vegetation, and the frequent inundations of rain or rivers, were no longer checked by the vigilance of labour; and it is incredible to those who know not the soil and the climate, how soon this cessation operated on the face of the country, and proclaimed the need of constant husbandry.

In this state of suspense the colonists remained until the 29th of May in the following year;—and it is a curious coincidence that the first communication between the King and his subjects in Jamaica, arrived on the first anniversary of the day which had restored him to his throne. On that day the Diamond frigate arrived, and four days afterwards, the Rosebush. These ships had

May 29. 1661.

sailed in company, and brought a commission from his Majesty to D'Oyley, confirming him in the command of the island, with orders that the army should be immediately disbanded, and settled throughout the country. The despatches contained also instructions for the constitution of judicial courts; with patents for the several departments of secretary, provost-marshal, and surveyor-general.

The inhabitants of Jamaica, whose loyalty was yet warm, caught the reviving flame, and sincerely participated in the great, though tardy triumph, which restored their rightful monarch to his throne.

Chapter VIII.

The History of the Colony continued to the Period of the Great Earthquake in the Year 1692.

Charles I. was beheaded on the 30th January 1648, charged with an offence which had been
A.D. 1661. judged in the field of Naseby before it was tried in Westminster Hall; and on 29th May, 1660, Charles II. was conducted to the throne by the acclamations of that nation which had as joyfully led his father to the block *. It then became necessary to confer the sanction of Royalty upon the few satisfactory acts of usurpation which marked the intermediate era of disorder and dismay. The conquest of Jamaica was one of the most happy events that had occurred, or could be confirmed; and the colony was thus formally enrolled amongst the honourable titles and splendid possessions attached to the British crown.

Colonel, now General D'Oyley, deserved the confidence of Cromwell, without forfeiting the esteem of the King; and he was confirmed in the command of an island in whose conquest he had acted so prominent a part. To conciliate the affections of his subjects, Charles prudently forbore awaking the slumbering feuds, by making any inquiry after those ob-

* See Note LVIII.

noxious characters who had sought refuge here:—and such of the regicides as were known to have taken shelter on this side of the Atlantic, were permitted to remain unmolested, while their guilty fellows were bleeding under the axe in expiation of a murdered Monarch's blood.

June 5. The Governor's commission was proclaimed at Careening Point (Caguaya); and that town has ever since borne the name of Port Royal, to commemorate the event. His appointment was accompanied by instructions to release the troops from the restraints of martial law, to cause the oath of allegiance to be taken, to appoint the courts of session, and to convene a council of twelve *.

The first Council. A hasty, irregular meeting anticipated the summons and the forms of election; but the choice was ratified by the consent of all parties, and it was then that the island was partially surveyed, and loosely divided into twelve districts, corresponding with the number of representatives, each member whimsically appropriating to his own peculiar precinct the name he liked best: as, Saint David—Saint Catherine—Saint Andrew—Saint John—Saint Thomas—Saint George—Saint Mary—Saint Ann—Saint James—Saint Elizabeth—Port Royal—and Clarendon.

The council then proceeded to frame laws for the government, and to levy a tax for the maintenance of the island. A salary of eight hundred pounds

* See Note LIX.

was attached to the office of Governor, and another of one hundred pounds to that of Chief Justice: which last appointment was filled by Colonel Ward; to whom soon succeeded Colonel Barry. This establishment of a civil government gratified the agricultural part of the community, but gave great offence to the military, who were in a state of mutiny at the change. So great, indeed, was the dissatisfaction, that it became necessary to hang one of the soldiers, "to let them see," says D'Oyley, "that the law can do as much as a court-martial." In this first assize every complaint was heard; every wrong redressed; every crime punished; and the civil judge was protected by the military commander.

The troops still, however, possessed a powerful friend in the Governor, who gave no encouragement to his agricultural subjects; and even the patentees found their privileges invaded in every way short of actual deprivation. The government had hitherto been military; and a military government, as Jamaica has often to her cost experienced, always verges towards despotism. These patentees were not men of D'Oyley's own selection; and as he suspected that his command was merely temporary, he considered it his interest to give all his support to the privateering system, from which he so soon, and so securely, reaped a profit.

Happily for the interests of the colony, his government now drew towards a close: he was informed that Lord Windsor was coming to supersede him;

and then his views became apparent. The complaint of age and infirmity might have seemed, indeed, ill adapted to the ripe manhood of forty-three: yet a soldier might express no dishonourable fear of the climate, the diseases, or the difficulties which had been fatal to so many before him. But the insincerity with which he had urged these reasons for his recall was now developed, and he bore his degradation with ill-dissembled resentment. He was conscious of the public odium, and he dreaded or envied the popularity of his successor. "He spoke," says Beeston, "very disrespectfully of that nobleman, discouraged the traders, used all means to get money and enrich himself, and Lord Windsor's coming being prolonged from the time he was expected, made him almost confident that he would not come at all: on which he began to threaten the abolition of the patents, and to new model the government." D'Oyley, in fact, who had been praised as a hero, was gradually, and at length generally, abhorred as a tyrant.

A.D. 1662. Two hundred settlers arrived in His Majesty's ship, the Great Charity; and many more in the Diamond, which had been sent to the Windward Islands to fetch them. Information was brought that Lord Windsor had arrived at Barbadoes, and might be hourly expected in Jamaica—intelligence which utterly destroyed the lingering hopes of D'Oyley, and frustrated those designs which threatened the total subversion of the

July.

civil government in favour of his military friends. In August this nobleman arrived with a large company of colonists, well supplied with every requisite for their immediate settlement. With him came Sir Charles Lyttleton, as lieutenant-governor and chancellor; and Colonel Mitchell, as judge of the courts of common-law and admiralty: with many persons in expectation of emolument or office under his patronage. He brought a seal and mace for the island*, and a royal donative for the troops: for, although the King was not bound to make good the pay of the Usurper's army, he deemed it expedient to give some remuneration for its services; and he judged this mode the least objectionable, as it would appease the discontent which prevailed, and have the conciliating appearance of a bountiful largess. But the money was committed to the management of some mercenary factors, and so laid out in merchandise, that, when it was divided amongst the soldiers, it was despicable and despised.

D'Oyley received Lord Windsor with politeness, but his pride could neither stoop to obey, nor hope to be forgiven; and he told him that he would probably hear many complaints against him, but that they were false; and that, by the time his lordship had been one year in his government, he must expect the same to be said of himself. He was ordered, however, to provide for his immediate departure from the island; a peremptory mandate which he had by no means

* See Note LX.

anticipated. He petitioned against the harsh command, requesting a delay; but it was refused, and he sailed in September. The Royal Proclamation * was immediately published, in which every encouragement was given to the planters. The council was convened to remodel, or renew, the action of the laws, which had slept during the last three months, under the unsettled views of D'Oyley; and the establishment of a municipal government secured the personal, and prepared the political, liberty of the colonists. Lord Windsor appointed the judges of session, and the magistracy; he established the militia, and assumed the peculiar command of the Port Royal regiment himself. Under the terms of the proclamation, he granted patents of land in free soccage, and afforded assistance to those who took them. But folly, or favour, was evident in the allotment; for "several particular first-comers," says Mr. Nevil, in his letter to Lord Carlisle, "having obtained title to six, eight, ten, or twenty thousand acres a man, left no room for neighbourhood on that side, where those delicate savannas, if divided into proportionable parcels, had given a comfortable support." Thus Sir Thomas Lynch came into possession of very extensive domains; and Major Hope, of the Oliverian regiment, with Colonel Archbould and Sir William Beeston, held the entire district of Liguania between themselves.

Sept. 10.

* See Note LXI.

If such a mass of landed property were now accumulated on the head of a Jamaica planter, the annual return might satisfy the largest demands of private luxury or avarice; and the fortunate owner would be rich in the improvement of agriculture, the manufactures of industry, and the refinements of taste. But, at the period when such extravagant grants were made, labour was wanted to improve, or spirit to divide, them; and the land, thus appropriated, remained covered with its native forests, to the exclusion of industrious tenants. Apprehensions were entertained that Lord Windsor intended to exact heavy fees and taxes on the seal, and land, as well as the sugar, which was now cultivated to a considerable extent; and whatever might be the grounds for such alarm, it operated powerfully upon the military planters. They again evinced a disposition to revolt, and it became necessary to commit many to prison; while, so great was the alarm, that a party of thirty horsemen kept guard at Passage Fort, to secure that point of communication between the seats of government and trade. The acts and assurances of the governor, however, restored order; and many who had abandoned their plantations returned to them. But what most tended to allay the ferment, was the opportunity which afforded a chance of service to the martial spirit of the disbanded army; for Lord Windsor, with the advice of his council, assumed the responsibility of proclaiming

war* against the Spaniards; and his plea was, that he had sent a frigate from Barbadoes to Porto Rico and Hispaniola, to demand trade—which was refused. He, therefore, formed a plan of attack upon St. Jago de Cuba; and the soldiery, poor and destitute of the necessary means of settling, joyfully embraced the opportunity of pillage; so that thirteen hundred men, and eleven sail of shipping,
Sept. 21. left Port Royal with the most sanguine expectations of success and spoil.

During the absence of this expedition, the militia was organised, and the Port Royal regiment, well armed and accoutred, met, for the first
Oct. 6. time, under its colonel. The council was engaged in framing laws; one to restrain runaway slaves, and another to rate the articles of the country as a bartering transfer. Although authority was vested in the governor for summoning a general assembly to settle these points, he never used the discretionary power,—reasonably satisfied with the council of his own election. Ill health, and disgust, induced Lord Windsor to resolve on quitting the island as soon as the expedition should return; and it was hinted to him that, to satisfy the court of Spain, which complained of the encouragement he afforded to pirates, his resignation would be readily
Oct. 21. received. A shallop arrived with tidings of the capture of St. Jago; and, on the

* Beeston's Narrative—in the Council Chamber.

following day, the fleet appeared, laden with plate, wine, sugar, and other rich plunder of the town. Seven ships were also captured; the castle was destroyed, and the guns were the ponderous trophies of the victors. This gallant exploit cost the lives of only six men; while the booty was sufficient to satisfy the most sanguine expectations of all who were concerned in it. The governor secured his share, and sailed immediately; leaving Sir Charles Lyttleton "deputy-governor, and Colonel Mitchell chief over the sea affairs, and over all the coasts."

Oct. 28.

The darkness of Jamaica history has cast a veil over the character and administration of this nobleman; but a census*, taken upon his departure, proves that, under his government, the population had not much increased. It amounted to no more than four thousand three hundred and fifty-five, including five hundred and fifty-two negroes. The success of the expedition he planned, had, however, revived the spirit of commerce, and quieted the discontents of the people. The privateers went to sea again, and the silver stream flowed plentifully into Port Royal. The unprotected state of that town, and the apprehension that the Spaniards would retaliate upon it for the destruction of St. Jago, induced his successor to call in the Crown dues, and to expend them upon the reparation of a small stone tower, which he embanked against the sea, and

* See Note LXII.

which was thenceforth called Fort Charles. Before the end of the year, the platform in the halfmoon on the beach was laid; four brass guns were mounted, and the volunteers employed to complete the work were indefatigable, so anxious were they to be away again in an expedition which was meditated against Campeché. But the death of Captain Lyttleton, Sir Charles's brother, delayed the preparations; and it was not until the following year that the fleet, consisting of twelve sail, with about sixteen hundred men, was able to go to sea.

1668. Jan. 11.

The Lieutenant-governor and Council issued a proclamation offering freedom, and thirty acres of land, to such of the rebellious slaves as yet remained abroad, if they would submit to the command of Juan de Bola, their former chief; and a few of them accepted the proffered indulgence. Nothing disturbed the repose of the colony, until Captain Mitchell, who had been cruising in the Bay of Campeché, brought intelligence of the wreck of three ships belonging to the late expedition; and that the Spaniards, who had received timely notice of the design, had fortified themselves, hauled their ships on shore, and sent their treasures up the country to Mereda. This failure and misfortune was calculated to spread the utmost alarm; for the island had been drained of its chief strength, to insure the success of the important enterprise. To complete the consternation, Colonel Barry arrived, and detailed his unsuccessful attempt to reduce the

Feb.

French at Tortuga, of which island he was to have been appointed governor. He attributed his failure to the timidity, or treason, of Captain Maunders, who refused to obey his instructions, and deserted his flag. These twenty-four hours afforded a variety of important news; for, before night, a ketch arrived in Macary Bay, with a report that, on the same day on which Barry had been defeated at Tortuga, the fleet, with the loss of only thirty men, had made a successful descent upon Campeché, sacked the town, and taken twenty sail of shipping deeply laden with a vast treasure. This report proved true: but an alarm accompanied it which threw a damp upon the joy of the exulting colonists; for information was received that there were thirty-five ships at Carthagena ready to make a descent upon Jamaica. Although without foundation, the panic this intelligence produced rendered infinite service; for it caused a diligent application to the works at Fort Charles, which, under such strenuous exertions, soon assumed the appearance of a respectable fortress. During its progress, Colonel Beeston officially reported that "all the planets in the heavens were in Mars ascendant of the Spanish nation," which argued, he conceived, inauspiciously to the interests of Jamaica*.

Until this period the Jews had been carefully excluded from the colony; but they now gained a footing, under the specious pretext that they came in

* See Note LXIII.

search of a vein of gold, known to them during the Spanish government, although the apprehension of its richness enticing enemies to a place so ill protected, had hitherto caused it to remain unopened. Their real design was, however, in the true spirit of their extraordinary nation, to insinuate themselves where they perceived such treasures floating; and this, their characteristic object, they soon effectually gained.

The colony now lost one of its brightest ornaments; and the death of Colonel Mitchell was long deplored, as an event most inauspicious to its rising prospects. His vigilant and sagacious eye had pervaded every department of the government, and he rendered the most eminent services to his adopted country, by arranging the constitution, modelling the laws, and deciding the many intricate points which the privateering system had already raised.

This systematic species of robbery, of which Jamaica was now become the nursery and rendezvous, still continued to pour its unhallowed treasures upon these thirsty shores. Although the prospect of a peace with Spain had urged the British monarch to the measure of conciliation, and orders had, in fact, been issued to restrain the swarming corsairs, yet the evil had taken too deep a root, the ground was too rich, and the fruit too enticing, to be checked by proclamation, or to be speedily eradicated even by force. Prizes daily arrived, and were publicly disposed of, in defiance of the royal

mandate; while the fame of one, unprecedented in its freight of quicksilver, resounded on the shores of Europe. Many of the colonists were literally rolling in wealth; and their houses displayed scenes of proud, but tasteless, magnificence. Their tables, and utensils of service, were of silver, and their horses were sometimes shod with plates of the same metal, loosely nailed, and carelessly dropped, to indicate the contempt or pride of riches. The wealth which was displayed in the streets of Port Royal might indeed have presented a pleasing image, if the sound of arms, and the riot of intemperance, could have been excluded from an assembly of successful corsairs.

On the 1st of November, the dispersed negroes met with their old captain, Juan de Bola, engaged, and destroyed him—the only act of violence which had been committed for a considerable time; all else remaining tranquil, and the country rapidly improving by the circulation of the treasures which flowed, in an ample stream, from the mines of Mexico and Peru. This tranquillity offered a fair opportunity for executing that part of the Lieutenant-governor's commission, which empowered him to call an Assembly to frame a more explicit code of laws than his Council had been able to compose, and to raise money for the expenses of his government. Lyttleton, with sound policy, eagerly embraced it. Writs were issued in December for the election of thirty per-

Nov.

Dec.

sons; and the first Assembly of Jamaica met in the following month. Robert Freeman was chosen Speaker, and the session continued until the middle of February. It was then adjourned until May, and resumed at Port Royal; as it was considered advisable to divide the sittings between the seats of government and trade. This early attempt at popular legislation was eminently successful; the members were unanimous, met with patriotic unanimity, and parted amidst scenes of festivity, and good humour, after framing a code of laws, as sound and serviceable as could be reasonably expected from such infant statesmen. Their act, which raised supplies for the use of the island, provided a collector of their own, who was not compelled to account to the parent state for any part of the funds. Nothing, however, occurred materially affecting the form of the constitution during the administration of Lyttleton: privateering occupied the attention of all classes; and it was encouraged by him, as it afforded the easiest mode of giving satisfaction to the colony, by rendering it the readiest relief.

Jan. 20, 1664. The first Assembly.

In the spring the fleet arrived from Oroonoque, with considerable plunder taken from the town of St. Thomas, in defiance of the cessation of hostilities which had been publicly proclaimed. Captain Colebeck succeeded in reducing a party of rebellious negroes on the north side of the island. But a report of the speedy arrival of Sir Thomas Modyford,

as governor, checked these expeditions, and induced Sir Charles to quit the island, leaving the president of the council, Colonel Lynch, in chief command. Upon his arrival in England, he was desired to lay his observations before his Majesty in council; and, amongst other remarks, he declared that "The government was plain and easy, and was not truly, if he might have the liberty to say so, disagreeable: so were the laws, and their execution: neither merchant nor planter, that he knew of, the least dissatisfied; every cause being determined in six weeks, with thirty or forty shillings charges; that the acts of Assembly were sent, and most humbly desired to be confirmed by his Majesty; that the people were in general easy to be governed, yet apter to be led than driven." It is certain that Sir Thomas left his government with regret; and it is probable that the object of his voyage was to recover the appointment he coveted: in this he eventually succeeded; and afterwards proved himself one of the best friends Jamaica ever possessed.

May.

At this time the island was surveyed, and more accurately divided into the twelve districts which had hitherto been but loosely named: no more parishes were, however, added, and the regions now called Hanover and Manchester, still remained unnoticed and unappropriated. The arrival of Colonel Morgan, as Lieutenant-governor, dissolved the Assembly; and the preference he gave to the assistance or advice of his council, laid the foundation of

those dissensions which broke out when it was convened in the following autumn. He immediately proclaimed a cessation of hostilities with Spain; and sent to acquaint the governor of Carthagena with that event. But while this circumstance threatened to close the avenues through which so much wealth had flowed into Jamaica, the agricultural interests of the colony received a seasonable augmentation by the arrival of four hundred planters from Barbadoes, who were speedily followed by Sir Thomas Modyford, with two hundred more. No sooner had he arrived than he caused his commission to be proclaimed, travelled through the country, and took every means of acquiring information. He despatched two frigates to England, and sent his brother to Barbadoes for his wife and family. The Swallow, one of the frigates, after a long and unsuccessful attempt to beat to windward in tempestuous weather, returned again to Port Royal; but the other two were never heard of more.

He issued writs for the election of an Assembly; in which Sir Thomas Whetstone was chosen Speaker, and Samuel Long the clerk:—but a temper, very different from that of the preceding session, soon manifested itself. The house was divided into factions, and proceeded with the heat and animosity inseparable from party-spirit. The obscurity which prevails throughout the early records of the Assembly, is not dispelled by a reference to those of the Council,

Aug.

Oct.

scarce less imperfect; but there are some manuscripts amongst the archives of that board, which throw a glimmering light upon the intrigues and animosities which prevailed during this administration. Sir Thomas Modyford is charged with two faults; a boundless ambition, and a suspicious temper, which was always haunting him with imaginary enemies. He envied the wealth, or feared the influence, of the patentees, the total extirpation of whose authority he contemplated as necessary to secure his own. Under a frivolous pretence, he deprived Major Povey, the island secretary, of his office; and bestowed it on his own nephew. He perversely directed writs for Port Royal, to Major Man, the surveyor-general, who was a magistrate there; and the election of Beeston and Loveing was opposed. It was urged that another should have been returned in Loveing's room. Many harsh epithets issued from the Speaker's chair upon this occasion; and nothing could be done until the election was allowed or annulled. At length it was carelessly put to the vote, not whether Loveing's election only, but the election at Port Royal, were correct; and it was declared illegal. Beeston walked to the bar, thanked the House for freeing him from a troublesome duty, and took his leave; but he was recalled by the Speaker, who assured him that the Assembly meant not him, but Loveing: thus the vote was entered in the Journals contrary to the express words of it. Beeston however withdrew;

refused to obey the warrant, and was committed to prison. The Governor, to inflame the wound, perhaps, nominated Provost-marshal Lynch to the council, and to the bench. Under his patent, he was desired to bring Beeston before the council; and was then arraigned and deposed, for so far demeaning the dignity of a judge. The office of surveyor-general was subdivided by the moderation, or malice, of the governor, and rendered of no value; while the spirit of party caused the "business of the house," I adopt the language of the record, "to go on like bells rung by boys, all jarring; and every day caused more ill-blood."

In November the Assembly adjourned till March; and, to heal all differences, the members resolved to give the governor and council a public dinner. The wine, however, produced an inflammation of old wounds, and, in an unlucky moment, Captain Rutter, a member of Assembly, was killed by Major Joy, of the council. When the House met again, it was but to be adjourned, and never to be resumed during this administration; but most of the members, before they parted, received commissions of the peace. The dissension between the Governor and the Assembly, though originating in individual prejudice, was ostensibly founded on the omission of the King's name in the enacting clause of the Revenue bill. This caused the subsequent commitment of Mr. Long, the clerk, under the governor's warrant; in whose instructions the due form of enactment had

been prescribed. An objection was urged by Mr. Long, and supported by the House, to the insertion of the King's name in a money-bill, whose provisions, taking immediate effect, differed essentially from those of all other acts which were not in force until confirmed at home. The spirit of this legislative effort was, however, to exclude the crown from the privilege of a double negative; and if the point had been carried in this instance, the same form might have been introduced into all other acts; which would have established the desired principle, "that the Governor being here the representative of the Crown, his act should bind the Crown; and the operation of the laws thus passed should not be impeded or suspended, by waiting for the King's determination upon them."

This early spirit of opposition to the parent state served only to hasten the arrangement then under consideration, for introducing a new system of colonial legislation, so planned as to deprive the Assembly of the means of defending itself against any future act of tyranny exercised by the Crown: an experiment which produced the memorable struggle which was carried on, with little intermission, through sixty-four successive years.

War was again proclaimed against Holland, and De Ruyter was hovering around this island with a powerful fleet. The privateering system, however, continued unabated. An expedition was prepared against Curaçoa, and five sail were intrusted to

Lieutenant-general Morgan, who succeeded only in the attempt upon Eustatia and Saba, where he died.

A.D. 1665. Another expedition, under Captain Fackman, met with better success in the plunder of Tobascoe and Villa de Moos, in the bay of Mexico. About the same period the Royal African Company's factors first came to Jamaica to arrange their slave-trade. Ships from Carthagena soon crowded the Jamaica ports, eager to purchase them; and they were profusely furnished by the Company, under the advantageous terms of the Spanish contract. But the Governor, finding the monopoly ill suited to his views of personal interest, broke the agreement; and although charged to preserve peace with Spain,

Feb. 22. and to stop the system of privateering, he assumed the extraordinary power of proclaiming war. The eloquence of entreaty, or the force of gold, prevailed; and commissions were issued with greater liberality than ever. It has even

A.D. 1666. been affirmed that Sir Thomas Modyford was pleased graciously to accept a leopard's skin filled with pistorins, as a fine for the irregularity of requesting them. Certain it is, that, under his sanction alone, the town of Saint Spiritus, in Cuba, was plundered; Providence taken, garrisoned by British troops, and lost again to the Spaniards; while Charles, with that want of faith which was characteristic of his weakness, connived at these lawless, but profitable, acts of his representative.

During these eventful times of predatory prosperity, the planting interest was not forgotten; for Modyford, determining to profit by his power, had patented vast tracts of land, on which he erected salt-works, and planted cocoa groves. These, however, never thrived in English hands; and Beeston discovered, and officially reported, a reason, in the appearance of a comet, on the fourth of December, 1664: "the forerunner," he said, "of the blasting of the cocoa-trees; after which time they generally failed in Jamaica." The plunder of Porto Bello amply compensated the damage sustained by the comet; "the Oxford frigate arrived, sent by the King to countenance the war with Spain. Certain persons then entered into a kind of co-partnership with the Governor, in behalf of Charles, to supply the pressing necessities of that monarch from this illegitimate source*." Captain Collier was immediately appointed to the Oxford, and sent to the rendezvous at the Isle de Vache. There he seized a French ship commanded by M. Vivien, whom he sent in chains to Port Royal, although peace with both France and Holland had been long concluded. An attempt on Carthagena was resolved on; and a general invitation to celebrate this promising expedition, assembled all the officers of the fleet. While at dinner the ship blew up; two hundred and fifty men were destroyed; and Morgan alone, with those who sat on

A.D. 1667.

A.D. 1668.

* Beeston's Narrative.

his side of the table, miraculously escaped. This accident saved the threatened town.

Peace with Spain was proclaimed in London, but it had no effect in checking the privateering system here; although it was more than hinted that the pillage of Porto Bello was not authorised, and that Modyford must be sent home to answer for it. In June the cessation of hostilities was publicly announced; but the privateers, still unwilling to relinquish the spoil they had depended on so long, went to sea without commissions, and continued doing so, until the war was rekindled in the following year. The opportunity was then eagerly seized by Morgan to capture Panama, whence he returned loaded with the curses and the treasures of the astonished Spaniards. Providence and Coga Castle felt the power of his arm, but he lost his frigate in the enterprise. Nine hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, and as much more in plate, jewels, and merchandise, crowned the hopes, and rewarded the gallantry of the captors. Grenada was also taken, and the golden days of Jamaica lasted until there came official intelligence of the memorable peace at length ratified with Spain, by Sir William Godolphin *. Sir Thomas Lynch then returned as governor, and brought instructions to send home Modyford, whose encouragement of the pirates demanded serious notice.

Feb. 1669.

1670.

* See Note LXIV.

A.D. 1670.

The muster-rolls of the militia, which were now transmitted to the Board of Trade, showed an internal strength of two thousand seven hundred and twenty men, while the seamen about the island amounted to two thousand five hundred; and the total of white inhabitants to fifteen thousand, one hundred and ninety-eight. The northern region of the island, which the Spaniards had so long neglected, was now vivified by the rising industry of the English; and when its extraordinary fertility became known, the influx of settlers was so great, that, had experience confirmed the prolific virtues attributed to the land and climate—did the Jamaica hens lay one or two eggs every day—did the ewes drop their lambs twice or thrice in every year; or were the women delivered of two or three infants at a birth (as early historians affirm,)—the island would soon have been overstocked, and the soil exhausted. But after translating these silly fables into the language of simple truth, we shall still acknowledge this northern district to be the most pleasant and plentiful in Jamaica: a soil abundantly productive of grass, corn, sugar-canes, coffee, and even vines, as the Spaniards had proved in the neighbourhood of Seville d'Oro. Fifty-seven sugar-works were established, producing an annual return of about one million, seven hundred, and ten thousand pounds of sugar; also forty-seven cocoa walks, yielding one hundred and eighty-eight thousand pounds of nuts; and forty-nine indigo works, producing about forty-

nine thousand pounds of dye,—an immense return from a colony only fourteen years old, and which had contended, during one-half of that time, against the numberless misfortunes which threatened to annihilate it. These plantations were moreover rapidly improving, and many others were coming forward. There were, also, three salt-ponds, comprehending four thousand acres, and yielding an annual return of ten thousand bushels of salt; while the yearly export of pimento, which flourished an indigenous plant, amounted to fifty thousand pounds.

The receiver-general, Thomas Tothill, in his report of "the commodities which the island produceth," added the following note: "here is also an undestroyable quantity of fustic, brazelletto, lignum vitæ, ebony, sweet-smelling and other curious woods, for several uses, of which great quantities are daily exported. We have also anotto, what the Spaniards called acheot, begun to be made, which we expect will prove a good commodity. We have, also, venillions, China roots, cassia fistula, and tamarinds, which the planters do endeavour to increase; they being good drugs. We find the land very good for cotton and tobacco; but the other commodities being more staple and profitable, very few busy themselves with it. We have large savannas, and now great stock of cattle; which we judge have increased within these six years, from sixty tame cattle, to six thousand: sheep, goats, and tame hogs, in great plenty; so that we are past all danger

of want, and hope, in a short time, to be able to furnish the ships homeward bound."

Sir Thomas Lynch put an end to the privateering system, by sending Major Beeston, with the articles of the peace, to Carthagena, to bring back the English prisoners; and thus undivided attention was given to the more prudent but less profitable speculations of agriculture. An assembly was convened, constituted of two members from each of the parishes of Saint Catherine, Clarendon, Saint Andrew, Port Royal, Saint John, Saint David, Saint Elizabeth, and Saint Thomas; and two from the Northern district of the island. The governor's instructions thus named his council: Major-general James Bannister, Colonel Sir James Modyford, John Cope, Thomas Freeman, Thomas Ballard, William Joy, Robert Byndloss, Charles Whitfield, Thomas Fuller, Anthony Collier, and Captain Hender Molesworth. The revenue was then fixed: land at the Point (Port Royal), an halfpenny per foot: savanna, and all cleared land, a penny per acre: every license for selling liquor, forty shillings per annum: brandy and spirits sixpence per gallon. Portuguese and Spanish wines four pounds per ton: beer thirty shillings per ton, and mum forty shillings per ton. Every ship paid twelvepence per ton, anchorage; and foreigners double. These duties were made applicable to the public uses of the island, in the following proportions:—one thousand pounds per annum to the governor or commander in chief: four

A.D. 1671.

hundred pounds to the lieutenant-governor: two hundred pounds to the major-general: eighty pounds to the chief justice: twenty pounds to every judge; and ten pounds to his assistant. "But," says Sir Thomas Lynch, "it never held out to pay all this." Collectors of the dues were nominated by the governor, and approved of by the council.

Sir Thomas Modyford was now confined on board his ship, with strict orders that his person should be guarded, and that, when he arrived in the Thames, no communication should be allowed with him. But his definite crime, or the necessity for so much caution, is not evident. Reason, however, may suggest, and fancy will pronounce, that he was the master of secrets, which, if divulged, would not only exculpate himself from the responsible charge of piracy, but might implicate the King himself in a participation of the spoil. Sir Thomas Lynch used every means to suppress this lawless system; and, at the desire of the governor of Saint Jago de Cuba, he despatched Major Beeston to bring in the privateers,—a proceeding which Long stigmatizes as "infamous and mean." Sir Thomas Lynch was directed to publish the treaty concluded with Spain within eight months, to be computed from the 10th of October 1670—namely, between that period and the 10th of June 1671; and at the time of such publication to revoke all commissions and letters of marque and reprisal, that had been granted to privateers. He was further instructed by

A.D. 1672.

all means to prevail on the captains, officers and seamen, belonging to these vessels, to apply themselves to agriculture or trade; and by way of greater encouragement, thirty-five acres of land were to be assigned to such as might be willing to accept them. The rest were allowed to use their vessels as if they were English-built; or they were admitted to serve on board his Majesty's ships of war. Lastly, he was ordered to proclaim a general pardon and indemnity for all crimes and offences committed by them since the month of June 1660, and previous to the ratification of the treaty. All this was, it seems, merely intended as a lure, to engage them to come into port with their spoil: where the same governor who issued these deceitful orders, was directed to take from them the tenths and fifteenths of all their booty, which the crown reserved for its share under the condition of their commissions. Thus government derived a direct emolument from a system of piracy; and it was fortunate that Jamaica was then independent of ministers whose policy was so contemptible, and whose monarch was so weak.

The stream of wealth had saturated the island; and its inhabitants were now enabled to maintain its government without the pecuniary assistance of the parent state. The impost on spirituous liquors, and the poll-tax levied occasionally, afforded an ample fund to defray all their public expenses; so that from the moment Jamaica became settled in a regular civil form, and felt the advantages of diffusive commerce,

no colony under British dominion ever cost less for maintenance, or supplied greater resources, on a fair balance of accounts, than this has done.

Morgan immediately desisted from all further enterprises against the Spaniards; and after the capture of Panama he retired into the peaceful walk of civil life, where, by a rare felicity, he was as well qualified to shine, as he had proved himself able to fight the battles of his country. The war still raged between England and Holland: the island of Tobago was taken, and a fleet was sent to Jamaica to protect its coasts; while many valuable Dutch prizes were sold in Port Royal, one with six hundred negroes. Peace was proclaimed in the following year,

A.D. 1673. under the treaty which exchanged the colony of Surinam for the Dutch province of New York; and commissioners Cranfield, Duckenfield and Brent were sent to execute that provision, by removing all British subjects from the former settlement.

An account was again, in this year, taken of "the number of Christian men, women, children, and negro slaves, in the several parishes:" by which census the population appears to have been composed of four thousand and fifty men, two thousand and six women, one thousand seven hundred and twelve children, and nine thousand five hundred and four negroes. There were also eight hundred seamen, who had volunteered to repel the threatened attack of the Dutch. Thus the inhabitants had in-

creased, between the year 1662 and 1673, from four thousand two hundred and five, to seventeen thousand two hundred and seventy-two. The Governor wrote to Lord Arlington, that "the weather was seasonable, and the success in planting miraculous. Bannister," says he, "is not very well, but sends your Lordship a pot of sugar, and writes its history." Proclamation was, however, made, prohibiting the importation of any of the commodities of Europe which were not laden in England; and for putting the laws relating to the West India trade in force; and these restraints materially injured the prosperity of Jamaica.

A.D. 1675.

A great sensation was soon afterwards caused, by the murder of General Bannister, by Mr. Burford, who was tried and hanged for it. In the spring, Sir Henry Morgan, now raised to the honour of knighthood, for his brave attack on Panama, escaped from shipwreck on the Isle de Vache, and arrived as Lieutenant-governor. His commission was read at Port Royal; while the council sat at St. Jago, and received the resignation of Sir Thomas Lynch. Shortly afterwards, Lord Vaughan arrived, and his commission as Governor was opened. He nominated his council, and directed the election of an Assembly, that laws might be immediately framed, and assimilated, as nearly as possible, to those of England. This Assembly met, chose Long for its speaker, and passed the forty-five expired

March 5.

March 14.

April 26.

laws; when it was first prorogued, and then dissolved. The evacuation of Surinam was, in the mean time, effected; forty families arrived, and were soon followed by the Hercules, with eleven hundred persons, who were all settled in a district which still retains the name of "The Surinam Quarters."

Dec. 13.

Commissions against the Spaniards had now been long withheld, and privateering was officially discountenanced; yet numerous prizes were still brought in by stealth, to the great enhancement of both public and private interest; while the government was carried on with such political facility, that the unbroken repose of the island offered no occurrence to distract attention from the important avocations of improving agriculture. Under these happy circumstances, when fortune smiled upon the colony, a statistical account of Jamaica was drawn up by Mr. Cranfield, in answer to his Majesty's queries of March, 1674.

A.D. 1676.

"There is," says Mr. Cranfield, "a council, consisting of twelve gentlemen: our Assembly, elected by the freeholders, two from every parish, except from St. Jago and Port Royal, where they have the privilege of choosing three. The chief court of judicature is held at St. Jago; its jurisdiction over the whole island: it holds and determines all pleas, and proceeds thereon according to the law of England, and pleas of the King's Bench and Common Pleas at Westminster; and hath also the jurisdiction of

the Court of Exchequer, in all matters touching the King's revenue, fines and forfeitures: writs of error and false judgments lie in this court, from all inferior courts; all proceedings and records in the said court, as near as may be, according to the form and practice of Westminster Hall. The officers of the said court are, the clerk of the crown, the clerk of the pleas, the provost-marshal, and the crier. The present chief justice and chief judge is Sir Thomas Modyford; S. Barry, S. Long, J. Colbeck, and S. Bernard are his assistants; who have a commission under the hand of the Governor and seal of the island. The court is held every three months; and an appeal lies only before the Governor, as chancellor. Besides this court, there are six inferior courts established in several precincts of the island; these are held once every month, and hold pleas of any sum not exceeding twenty pounds, unless by justices, and then of any sum whatever."

The names of the judges and their assistants it may be interesting to record.

PORT ROYAL PRECINCT.

William Beeston, *Judge;*
Reginald Wilson, and Anthony Swimmer, *Assistants.*

ST. THOMAS AND ST. DAVID.

William Stan, *Judge;*
E. Stanton, and C. Richardson, *Assistants.*

LIGNANIA.

Richard Brayne, *Judge;* William Parker, *Assistant.*

ST. JOHN.

Thomas Ayscough, *Judge*;
William Aylemer, and Richard Oldfield, *Assistants*.

CLARENDON.

J. Pennant, *Judge*; W. Bent, and G. Faucett, *Assistants*.

The sixth court was established, with extensive jurisdiction, on the north side, and held only once in six months. Quarter-sessions, according to the custom of England, were also held in each precinct, under local commissions of the peace; where all offences were cognisable, except those affecting life. In the Admiralty Court, Sir H. Morgan, Colonel Byndloss, and Colonel Beeston, sat as commissioners, and from their decision there was an appeal before the Governor as vice-admiral.

The strength of the colony consisted of one regiment of cavalry, five hundred strong; with seven regiments of infantry, containing altogether about five thousand men: "no others than planters, merchants, and servants; none of the blacks." Since the Restoration, no troops had been maintained on pay, excepting twenty horsemen in Lord Windsor's time. One gunner, and two matrosses, at Fort Charles, were all that were now charged to the country. Fort Charles had been completed, ostensibly, by the King's bounty, but not so in fact; for the cost was afterwards repaid by the country: and it was now defended by thirty-six guns, and capable of containing seven hundred men. Fort James mounted thir-

teen guns, and was built, by subscription, on another commanding spot in the harbour of Port Royal; while a redoubt, with six guns, was erected by the inhabitants of the town. These, with a platform of five cannon at Port Morant, and another at Morante Bay, were the only fortifications which defended the rich and envied shores of Jamaica.

In answer to the query—"What are commodities of the growth and manufactures of the plantations?" Cranfield replied, "Cocoa, sugar, cotton, indigo, ginger, dyeing-woods, &c. There is a great deal of cocoa planted on the north side within the last five years, since the blast, and thrives well. The cotton not inferior to any in the Indies: experience shows that it grows on the worst land, if it be within three or four miles of the sea on the south side, it being there warmest. The great product, and returns from New England, make it very profitable, especially to the middle sort of planters, that cannot compass a sugar-work. The inhabitants have no manufactures, only making some few shoes and hamacs." From Scotland, or Ireland, few people came to Jamaica; but five hundred indentured servants had arrived within the last five years, by the Bristol ships. From England adventurers chiefly came as transitory traders, and many ultimately settled here, when they perceived how soon the rich soil rewarded labour. Thus it was computed that twelve or fourteen hundred persons came annually; and about three-fourths of them remained. Of British ships trading to the

several plantations, there were now about one hundred and seventy—though the war had diminished the number within the last two years; and the disturbance amongst the Indians of New England had so interrupted husbandry, that little produce was brought thence. Import duties were charged upon all strong liquors, while exported goods paid nothing; nor was the colony burdened by any other impost than that of five pounds on wine licenses, and certain parochial taxes for the maintenance of roads and public buildings. The governor's salary was raised to two thousand pounds; and that of the lieutenant-governor to six hundred. The only revenue claimed by the King was derived from the quit-rents, which amounted to about nineteen hundred pounds per annum. The secretary's office was granted by patent, under his Majesty's seal; as were also the offices of provost-marshal, clerk of the supreme court, clerk of the patents, and chancery, and clerk of the court for the town of Port Royal; the last three held by persons in England, and executed by deputies.

Such was the state of Jamaica when Lord Vaughan arrived. He found his name illustrious, his friends faithful, his enemies silent, and the island prosperous. The differences which a factious spirit had fomented between the King and his Parliament at home, allowed of no interference on the part of his ministers with the internal regulations of the colonies; and Jamaica, thus left to her own resources,

governed by her own men, and ruled by her own ordinances, displayed a spirit of popular freedom, and commercial industry, which announced her rising fortunes.

The indulgent, steady, and impartial conduct of the nobleman who now assumed the reins of government, afforded a prospect of serener days than had yet been experienced. The threatening aspect of public affairs induced him, however, to add considerably to the effective force of the island, and four thousand five hundred and twenty-five men now constituted a well-armed and tolerably disciplined militia. The quantity of sugar exported soon increased in a fourfold proportion; but this prosperity was not lasting: it met with a lamentable interruption, and nothing could have saved the colony, had it not possessed the resources which it did. Two years had now elapsed since the laws had been sent to England for confirmation, and still they were not returned. New writs were therefore issued for an Assembly, which chose Colonel Beeston as its Speaker. One of the members was committed to prison, for offering an insult to the Governor; and after a session of two months, distracted by adjournments, and disgraced by faction, it was dissolved in haste and anger. A culprit had been condemned to death for bringing in negroes under a French commission, and the House, interfering to procure him another trial,

A.D. 1677.

April 9.

infringed the supposed prerogative of the Governor, and led to this result.

The principal bills had been, however, re-enacted, with the exception of the Revenue Act, which the Governor rejected; and, on the day of the dissolution, it was made known that the Earl of Carlisle was coming out to supersede him. The council immediately met, and new writs were issued for another House, the last not having completed the body of laws. Beeston was again chosen Speaker; that which had been omitted was now perfected; and Lord Vaughan agreed to all, "except some few of little use, and the act for the revenue." He then dissolved the House, and closed his government by leaving the island, Sir Henry Morgan, and Lord Carlisle, without any revenue whatever.

1678. March.

This nobleman, during a short but noisy administration, evinced a temper of stern inflexibility, little suited to the circumstances of the times, or to the people he had to deal with, who, as his predecessor had reported to the King, were "more easily led than driven." He was neither to be awed by the frown of power, nor led by the voice of popular applause; and, had he governed the island in times of greater political freedom, he would not have left an impression unfavourable to his popularity.

In the course of a few days after this change in the affairs of the colony, intelligence arrived from

Barbadoes, that all the windward islands were fortifying themselves, under apprehension of a rupture with France. The council therefore assembled, and preparations were made to defend Jamaica. Martial law was proclaimed; while every tenth negro from the country, with every fourth in Port Royal, were employed on the public works. Thus were Fort James, Fort Carlisle, and several new lines, completed; although the prolongation of martial law caused an alarming mutiny, in which several of the engineers were killed by the negroes. The report that Count D'Estrees, with a powerful force, was hovering about the shores, kept the colony in continual alarm, until intelligence was received
May 31. that he had been cast away, and eleven sail of his fleet totally lost.

The Earl of Carlisle arrived with Major-general Sir Francis Wilson, and two companies of
July 19. infantry, well supplied with arms and stores. His commission was immediately read in the old church; and he was splendidly entertained by the inhabitants. This commission empowered him to summon general assemblies of the freeholders and planters, within the island and other territories thereon depending, in such manner and form as had been formerly practised and used in the island; and to agree and consent to all laws, statutes, and ordinances, for the public peace, welfare, and good government of the island, &c.; which said laws, being framed with the advice and consent

of the Council, should be transmitted to his Majesty, to be by him approved, and remitted back under the great seal of England: the said laws to be framed as near as conveniently might be to the laws and statutes of England." A power was likewise given him, "upon invasion, rebellion, or any sudden emergency, to pass laws, with consent of the Assembly only, for raising money, and without transmitting such money-bills to his Majesty."

In the early part of his administration, Lord Carlisle relaxed that stern severity which had marked the government of his predecessor. He adopted many excellent regulations for the defence of the colony, which are still in force. And, indeed, during no period of its British occupation had greater vigilance been required to keep it—for the Popish plot had diverted the attention of Great Britain from her foreign possessions, and Jamaica was left entirely to her own resources—while the odious measure with which his Lordship was charged, was calculated to render his administration arduous and himself unpopular. He had been selected to carry into execution a long-meditated form of government, modelled according to that of Ireland; and, amongst other laws framed with that intent, he brought a bill for settling a perpetual revenue.

The acts which were sent home for confirmation, had been condemned by the Lord of Trade. His Majesty, therefore, rejected some, and ordered others to be remodelled after

Sept. 2.

Poyning's laws*; in which mould they were all in future to be cast. Certain privileges which the Assembly contended for, and under which they had even imprisoned a member, were now disallowed, though considered necessary to the due representation of the colony, and similar to those enjoyed by the House of Commons. Under these circumstances the Council met, reviewed these acts, and agreed that an Assembly should be convened to consider them. Although dissatisfied with the accommodations provided for him in St. Jago, the Earl went there to meet the House, and was attended in state from Passage Fort.

The base arts and mean evasions which then were used to make the country submit to the imposition of a yoke which would have enslaved it, may be estimated by the Governor's speech.—"He would not say that the body of laws, which he had now brought, were altogether the same which were sent home the last time, the Council of Plantations having had but one day of meeting after they came; neither could he answer for the exactly true writing of them, because the great seal was affixed to them but two days before he came away, and so he had no time to compare them. Those who were present when his commission was published might observe some alteration in the model of the laws, the style and title being changed to the King and Assembly; which was a greater honour than any plantation ever yet

* See Note LXV.

shared. That the laws to be made were, for the future, to be framed after those of Ireland. That Jamaica was under great obligation to his Majesty, who expected a suitable return; and that he should, next day, send over an act of the revenue, which it was necessary should be quickly despatched, that arrears due might be paid." He concluded by stating, that the King was displeased at the passing of some acts in former Assemblies without using his name; and that in the militia acts, last framed, a clause was omitted derogatory to the Governor's power, which had been given in the King's commission.

The struggle for liberty, in which the colonists were thus engaged, merits more than ordinary attention; for it forms an epoch in the annals of Jamaica, from which are dated the constitution which it now enjoys, and the rank which it now holds.

It was desired that the Assembly should give their consent to the laws which the Earl of Carlisle had brought with him, without the power of objecting to, or the liberty of examining, any part of them; and that no Assembly should be called, except by special order from England, or upon any extraordinary emergency. This was the intention of the words, inserted in the commission, "necessary emergency;" for, under the latitude of their construction, it was left to the Governor's discretion to judge of, or to create, that necessity, in what manner and as often as he pleased. All laws, in future, were

to be framed by the Governor and his Privy Council; and remitted, from their board, to his Majesty; and, after receiving his approbation, they were to be returned under the great-seal, and passed by the General Assembly, according to the usage in Ireland. Such was the monstrous system of legislation with which it was proposed to bind Jamaica; and, persuaded that he should easily succeed in placing these iron fetters on a helpless people, Lord Carlisle, with unbecoming confidence and haughty pride, met the Assembly, which once more elected the patriotic Beeston for its Speaker. No threat was left untried —no persuasion neglected—no art omitted, which might induce the members to bend their necks beneath this Irish yoke. They temperately, but unanimously, resisted all his attempts, declaring "that the mode proposed was repugnant to the constitution of England, of which country they were the natural subjects; and that they were not desirous of living under any other than the laws of England." His Lordship, finding all his efforts abortive, and that the resources of the colony were likely to be withheld, permitted them, in their own way, to pass a revenue bill, of one year's duration; and, having signed it, he dissolved them; not however before they had separately and distinctly rejected each law which he had imported, and requested him to intercede with his Majesty on behalf of the oppressed colony.

The abhorrence which the proposed system ex-

cited, was, therefore, represented at home; and the consideration of the measure was again referred to the lords of trade, who, with more obstinacy than prudence, adhered to their former resolve; and upon their report to the King in council, the same laws were returned, accompanied by his Majesty's order, that they should be once more tendered to the Colonial Assembly. Such was the pernicious advice which the opinion of the twelve judges afterwards declared unconstitutional; and which was calculated to enforce a tyrannical government without reason, and almost without example.

A.D. 1679.

Armed with this mandate, the Governor summoned another assembly, of which Beeston was still the Speaker; and the laws which were passed in Lord Vaughan's time were continued by proclamation during the pleasure of the King. His lordship communicated his orders, which were received by the House with the utmost respect; but with a fixed and unanimous resolve never to consent to its own bondage. The character of the Earl, which was deeply tinctured with vanity, that passion of a little mind and a cold heart, had been justly estimated; and perceiving that his intemperance would drive them to the alarming alternative of admitting or rejecting the King's authority, the members took advantage of the popular rumour of a French invasion, to gain time for consideration, or strength for resistance. They passed a bill for continuing the impost six months, and presented it to the Earl, with a desire that they might

be spared from legislative duties, to secure their shores. To this request he acceded, signed the bill, and prorogued them.

When they met again, the same entreaties were renewed, and the same resolution opposed them. The Earl's emissaries had been busy and persuasive; but every obnoxious law was again distinctly negatived. His pride was now stimulated by shame and resentment; and he resorted to the most unbecoming threats. He declared that if the members persisted in their obstinate rejection, he would send them as rebels to England. He commanded their attendance, and produced that memorable oath which was to be the test of their fealty *. The Speaker refused it, and most of the ministers did the same—a constancy of principle which drove the intemperate Earl beyond all the bounds of moderation and decency. Long, the chief justice, was suspended from his seat in the council, and dismissed from his office on the bench. But fury was encountered by firmness; and the mortification of defeat was embittered by a tardy sense of folly. The Governor dissolved the assembly, yet deemed it necessary to appear before his Majesty with his oppressed opponents, as his prisoners. Such was the patriotic guilt of Long and Beeston, that they alone were selected; and the fetters which had been thus forged for Jamaica, were broken by the perseverance of the former, who was animated with the zeal of a citizen,

Oct. 20.

* See Note LXVI.

and the philosophy of a stoic. As soon as he arrived in England, he fearlessly impeached the Earl*, and subscribed a declaration which spoke the language of loyalty and resentment. He stood before the King to deliver the sentiments of his fellow-colonists; he spoke in the name, and in the cause of his peers, and the King yielded to the call of justice and of freedom. The question was referred to the judges; and they immediately decided in favour of independence and Jamaica. Ministers readily, or reluctantly, gave up the point; the old form of government was restored; and its privileges renewed or enlarged. The report of the judges was never made public, but the question was: "whether, by his Majesty's letter, proclamation, or commission, his Majesty had excluded himself from the *power* of establishing laws in Jamaica; it being *a conquered country*, and all laws settled by authority there being expired?"

Sir Thomas Lynch, the succeeding governor, declared that "His Majesty, upon the Assembly's humble address, was pleased to restore us to our beloved form of making laws; wherein we enjoy, beyond dispute, all the deliberative powers in our Assembly, that the House of Commons enjoy in their houses."

To seal the compact, and heal the wound thus wantonly inflicted, the King relinquished his right to the quit-rents, then estimated at one thousand four

* See Note LXVII.

hundred and sixty pounds per annum, and decreed that in future they should be appropriated solely to the use of the island.

The apprehension of a French invasion increased the excitement which these important measures produced: while a report that the island was actually sold to that power, gave little encouragement to improving agriculture. Count D'Estrées was again visible from the threatened shores; and he sent four officers to Blue-fields bay, for liberty to wood and water. It was granted, and he departed; but martial law was immediately proclaimed, and the members of Assembly dispersed to their respective posts, having first obtained the governor's sanction to a bill continuing the impost six months longer. The destination of the hostile fleet, now strengthened by nine men of war, and two fire-ships, under the Count de Bethune, was, however, still unknown.

I may be permitted here to fix a date in natural history, by observing that it was this fleet so long cruising in these seas, which collected, and was the means of introducing to Europe, the destructive worm which is the most dangerous enemy to the British navy.

The privateers once more crowded the seas, and again were they rewarded by their accustomed spoil; while from a wreck at Ambrosia, the Spaniards had fished up a large quantity of silver, which was all poured upon the shores of Jamaica.

Sir Henry Morgan acted as lieutenant-governor

during Lord Carlisle's absence; and the Earl declining
A.D. 1680. to resume his government, Sir Thomas Lynch, who had once already presided over the island, was appointed its governor, and
A.D. 1681. empowered, "with the advice and consent of the council and assembly, to frame such laws as should be conducive to his Majesty's interest, and agreeable to themselves." Several acts were therefore passed in the new style, *by the Governor, Council, and Assembly;* of which the long-
A.D. 1682. disputed Revenue Bill, for seven years, was one. Twenty-eight were confirmed by the King, for the same period; and the duration of these, with some others which completed the first volume of the laws of Jamaica, was afterwards extended to the period of twenty-one years. One of the most important of these laws, is that still in force, enacting that "freeholders of known residence are not subject to arrest, and being held to bail in civil process." The peculiar mode of proceeding, is to deliver the party a summons (leaving it at his house is deemed good service), together with a copy of the declaration, fourteen days before the court; whereupon the defendant is bound to appear, or judgment will pass by default. Twenty-eight days after the first day of each court, execution issues; for which there is but one writ, comprehending both a *fieri facias*, and a *capias ad satisfaciendum;* but as no general imparlance is allowed before judgment, the effects levied on must remain in the defendant's hands until the

next court, to give him an opportunity of disposing of them to the best advantage: and if he then fails paying over the money, a *venditioni exponas* issues to the marshal to sell those, or any other goods, or to take his person.

An explanatory commission * to Lord Carlisle contained those privileges of making laws in Assembly which are still in force, and which have ever since been minutely the same, with the solitary exception that, in the year 1716, the Governor was directed not to pass any laws that should repeal a law confirmed by the Crown, without a clause of suspension, or first transmitting the draft of the bill; and in the year 1734, this limitation was extended to all laws repealing others, even though such repealed laws should not have been confirmed by the crown.

What possible misconduct on the part of the colonists, or what secret expectations on the part of the Crown, gave birth to a project which would have deprived Jamaica of the privileges of the British constitution, is a question of more difficulty than importance. Yet it may, perhaps, receive a ray of light from an act of the Assembly of Barbadoes, which, in the year 1663, had been prevailed upon, by Lord Willoughby, to grant an internal revenue to the crown of four and a half per cent. on the gross produce of that island,—and for ever. The steady refusal of the Jamaica planters to entail a similar burden on their posterity, might perhaps have sug-

* See Note LXVIII.

gested the arbitrary measure of depriving them of those constitutional franchises which alone could give security to their laws, or value to their possessions. Happily for their descendants, neither intrigue nor violence was successful against the spirit of popular freedom. But Jamaica, always prodigal, and often poor, was scorched by the flame which this contest kindled; and its vigour received a check which almost withered it. Many large proprietors deserted the island in those turbulent times, and sought a refuge in other countries; while a very natural apprehension was entertained, that if the solemn promises, held out to them in the King's proclamation brought over by Lord Windsor, and the uniform assurances of all their governors, were thus infringed in one essential point, they could hope for no security against subsequent violations in every other. The government at home was not insensible to the misery it entailed. But the King was the feeble head of a great body; and the ruinous condition of Jamaica demonstrated the wretched policy, if not the base perfidy, of attempting such a monstrous innovation on the constitutional rights of an industrious people. The character of the Earl of Carlisle was in unison with the mission he was charged with. According to the experience of human nature, we may calculate a hundred, nay a thousand, chances against the public virtues of a statesman; yet his public character betrayed both political and constitutional perfidy; while his vices

were as scandalous as his talents were mean. His avarice was exemplified in the memorable transaction of Paul Abney, the pilot; which proved, that if it were sometimes checked by fear, it was never restrained by humanity or justice.

The desertion of the island was at this time so great, and the want of agricultural strength so pressing, that multitudes of English labourers were kidnapped, and brought here by force; an abuse which called forth an order from the royal council.

Dec. 13.

Industry, however, always treads in the footsteps of liberty. The colonists supported with firmness the calamities of war and faction;

A.D. 1683.

they had now gained a material point in the arrangement of their constitution, and they soon improved, and enjoyed, the prosperity of repose and peace. "Who," said the Governor in his opening speech, "has ever seen Port Royal so full of ships, or known the planters to have sold their goods so dear? If we have had losses at sea, have they not been borne with that equanimity and silence that becomes merchants and reasonable men? and our trade is nevertheless increased: so that we have more seamen and vessels than any king's colonies in these Indies; and are you not all my witnesses that, within fifteen months, every man's freehold, throughout this great island, is almost risen in value from fifty to two hundred per cent?"

Sept. 5.

In this speech, Sir Thomas Lynch claimed for the British Government a grateful return from the people

of Jamaica for having dropped an oppressive and pernicious project, as if it had actually conferred upon them a positive and permanent benefit; and the question of political privileges being settled, that of revenue was again started. The royal sanction was still withheld from many of the laws passed after the re-establishment of the Assembly's rights; although it was not urged that these laws were either useless, or repugnant to those of England. Amongst others, that important act, declaring the laws of England to be in force here, was peevishly disallowed. The same mistaken policy which had urged the ministers of Charles to enslave the colony by the introduction of the Irish constitution, now induced them to attempt the imposition of a perpetual internal revenue, by advising their sovereign to refuse his assent to the laws, and to suffer the administration of justice to remain here in a precarious and unsettled state, for the space of more than half a century. For the purpose of erecting forts, and repairing fortifications, the English government had insisted on the supply bills being past for seven years*; but the Assembly, equally resolute, continued to enact them from year to year only—pleading that the money granted by the island of Barbadoes was notoriously appropriated to purposes widely different from those for which it was expressly given; and justly demanding some security against a similar misapplication here, before it would subject the island

* See Note LXIX.

to a permanent and irrevocable burden: and it was not until the year 1728 that this point was compromised, or the discussion dropped.

Mr. Neville, in a letter to the Earl of Carlisle*, referring to the law which had been introduced by Modyford, declaratory of the English laws being in force here, and which, in default of the royal sanction, had been renewed every two years, writes, "Thus my lord did to encourage vexatious and troublesome proceedings, that the whole wealth of the island came into the hands of attornies and solicitors; and became so grievous that the Assembly, in Sir Thomas Lynch's time, made a law that every man should plead his own cause. This did rather hurt, than good: for the lawyers being suppressed, and the laws continuing as voluminous as ever, the cunningest knave carried all before him; and indeed none but such as intended to cozen every body, durst, or did, become administrators to the dead, or guardians to children: so that perceiving the wolves increase, they were forced to let go the tamer devourers, the lawyers."

Sir Henry Morgan now fell a sacrifice to the resentment, legitimate or unjust, of the Spanish court; and to the pusillanimity of the English government, as Sir Walter Raleigh had done before him. Under the authority of a letter from the secretary of state, he was sent a prisoner to England. He survived his misfortune three years, in close confinement—dead to his enemies and to the world.

* MSS. in the Council Chamber.

The administration of Lieutenant-governor Molesworth was tranquil and obscure; marked only by the first serious rebellion which had occurred amongst the negro slaves. The agricultural strength of the island was considerably augmented by the arrival of many who were convicted of participation in the Rye-house plot, and reprieved from hanging, on condition of serving ten years in the West Indies. The rigour with which this sentence was executed, may be inferred from the governor's speech, requiring the House to prepare "an act for ascertaining the servitude of the rebels lately sent from England; and to prevent all clandestine releasements, and buying out their time." Few lived, however, to its expiration.

A.D. 1684.

In the following year Sir Philip Howard received his commission as Captain-general and Governor-in-chief. His instructions named his council; and the judges of the Admiralty, with several other individuals, having been deprived of their seats in the council by the late governor, a report of that proceeding was called for by the King. The Assembly had been dissolved by the demise of Charles II.; the intelligence of which event was communicated to the council in the month of April; but it was not until the eighth of April in the following year, that writs were issued for another house. We hear no more of Sir Philip Howard's appointment. The government of Molesworth continued, obscure and in-

A.D. 1685.

April 13th.

A.D. 1686.

glorious; while his administration was rather busy than active. The colony, however, recruited its strength; trade revived, and the laws were duly enforced. Its riches were now the fruit of industry; and its industry was guarded by liberty and peace. The Jews flocked hither in multitudes; and by instructing the planters in the arts of commerce, they found great encouragement to stay *.

A dispute, however, arose respecting the Poll-tax Bill; and the House was dissolved "in detestation of its partial and unjust proceedings." Such was the language of Sir Hender Molesworth, now created a baronet. Soon after this rupture, Christopher, Duke of Albemarle, the only surviving son and heir of General Monk, was appointed Governor of Jamaica. His health ruined by vice, and his fortune by extravagance, he was driven to the necessity of imploring bread from James II.; and it was insidiously reported that this appointment was a species of banishment for his zeal against the Roman Church. His subsequent acts, however, sufficiently proved that he was sent here rather as an engine to load the colonists with Popish fetters. He was accompanied by Father Churchill, and by his duchess; "whose presence," I use the words of legislative gallantry, "was an honour which the opulent kingdoms of Mexico and Peru would never arrive at; and Columbus's ghost would be appeased for all the indig-

Sept. 24.

A.D. 1687.

* See Note LXX.

nities he suffered from the Spaniards, could he but know that his beloved soil was hallowed by such footsteps."

The active interference of Father Churchill was soon apparent; and he wandered through the country, literally, an itinerant preacher of the Roman doctrines. He had the pleasure, in one of his journies, to be half-drowned in a river, and half-starved on a rock; and he vainly hoped to convert the heretics of Jamaica to the true faith.

The first act of the Duke was to convene an As-
A.D. 1688. sembly; but after fair promises and flattering speeches, it exhibited a scene of political commotion which was the forerunner of greater disasters than the colony had yet been threatened with. The conduct of this nobleman affords many instances of the arbitrary principles of the times. Needham, one of his creatures, accused Towers, an irreproachable member of assembly, of treason; for having used the words "salus populi, summa lex." For this speech the patriotic offender was compelled to pay a fine of six hundred pounds, and to give security for four thousand. The House protected its member, and was dissolved; but not be-
April 11. fore it had passed a just censure on the base informer. Writs were issued for another assembly: when the freedom of election was so grossly violated, that the Duke admitted hosts of servants and discharged seamen to the poll; and actually imprisoned many legal voters of wealth

and consideration. He imposed fines on them to a large amount, and threatened "to whip two gentlemen" for requesting an habeas corpus for their friends. He made Doctor Rose give ten thousand pounds security for reporting the fact, that the Chief Justice told the people, in open court, that they should be now ruled with rods of iron: an expression which threatened such consequences, that many abandoned their properties and left the island.

That the mission of the Duke was connected with the Holy See, is probable; that he attempted to convert the island to Popery, cannot be doubted. The King had been publicly at mass in Saint James's, and had published two papers taken out of the late King's strong box, to prove that he had died a Papist. The Duke of Albemarle had, perhaps, his own religion to choose; but he was a pliant tool—a man not less contemptible for his weakness, than odious for his vices. Fortunately for Jamaica, he held not long the reins of government; the change of climate, and habitual intemperance, terminated all his worldly contentions a few months after his arrival, but not before the indignation of the colonists had been strongly expressed in an address to his Majesty. A death thus premature, thus sudden, thus seasonable, might awaken suspicions of poison—and such suspicions were propagated and believed by the zeal of party; but they are not justified by the character of the times, of the island, or of the personal adversaries of the Duke.

His body was embalmed, and followed to England by the Duchess, who was afterwards Duchess of Montague.

The government devolved on Sir Francis Watson, who had been nominated President of the Council in the King's commission to the Duke; and the Assembly, then sitting, was adjourned, and continued by prorogation, until dissolved by the accession of William and Mary. The members of the Council, who had secured themselves from arrest during session, as legislators; and out of session as privy-councillors, now assumed the distinction of "Honourable," and the President asserted his right to the title of "Right Honourable;" but the borrowed plume was quickly plucked from Sir Francis Watson by the King's command.

Oct. 6.

It was about this period that a post-office was first established here, under the superintendance of James Wade; but it did not succeed, and was for many years little more than a nominal appointment. The laws which had been lately passed were now petitioned against; and his Majesty was pleased to remit them, with the illegality of the House which had enacted them, to the decision of the next Assembly. The judges and other officers, displaced by the late governor, were restored to their respective appointments; and the fines which had been imposed were remitted. The Earl of Inchequin arrived as Governor. Another Assembly was immediately summoned; and

A.D. 1689.

A.D. 1690.

its first act was to offer him a Bill abrogating the laws passed in the late reign of tyranny and terror. He was overwhelmed with addresses and congratulations upon "the miraculous power of God in raising his Majesty to be the glorious instrument of deliverance from the Philistine bondage which had extended itself into these the remotest of his Majesty's dominions." Some dissensions, however, again arose in the Assembly, respecting a Bill for the defence of the island; and the Earl intemperately rejected the congratulatory address of the House to himself, and "threw it to them with some contempt."

War was declared against France, and the hostile cruisers were committing continual depredations on the sea-side plantations. A large sum was raised for the temporary relief of the sufferers, but the alarms thus occasioned were increased by internal commotions. The runaway negroes also began to be troublesome; they came down from the woods, robbed the neighbouring settlements, and committed atrocious cruelties. Yet they were possessed of retreats so secure, that all endeavours to dislodge them were vain. The failure of the troops sent for that purpose strengthened their force, by inducing many of the disaffected to join them; and although every possible precaution was taken to prevent their arming themselves, they collected to the number of four hundred, and attacked Mr. Sutton's plantation in Clarendon. There they murdered every white person, and seized fifty

A.D. 1691.

stand of muskets, four small field-pieces, with abundance of ammunition and provisions. From thence they proceeded to the neighbouring plantations, acting the same tragic scenes, until they were met by a party of the militia, who drove them back to Sutton's house, where many were killed, some tried and hanged, and the least culpable pardoned.

Distracted by dissensions, and overwhelmed with difficulties, brought on by his own intemperate government, the Earl died. His passions were buried in his tomb; but the same policy, with a milder aspect, still reigned in the councils of his successors. The government devolved on the President, who was soon after killed by the earthquake; and then it fell to John Bourdon, the next in succession; after an address had been voted by the council, praying to be heard before their Majesties, against the late proceedings in assembly, the violation of the freedom of election, and the attempts made to introduce the Roman Catholic religion. The Swan and Guernsey men of war, which the late governor had sent to destroy the French settlements in Hispaniola, had been eminently successful; and returned with many valuable prizes. But when the colony was thus full of hopes, and wallowing in riches, it was subjected to the most awful calamity that ever visited a people. The town of Port Royal, the receptacle of so much wealth, and the scene of so much wick-

Jan. 16.

A.D. 1692.

edness, sunk into the earth, and three thousand of its inhabitants instantly disappeared!

It was upon the 7th of June, about mid-day, that a mysterious roar was heard in the distant mountains. The noise rolled onwards, and the greater part of the town fell before the cause was known. The wharfs, ponderous with spoil, sunk instantaneously; and the water stood five fathoms deep, where, a moment before, the crowded streets had displayed the glittering treasures of Mexico and Peru. The Council, which had that morning voted the address above referred to, was held there, and had but a few minutes adjourned. The President was lost, and the Rector escaped, to give the following curious detail, in a letter dated a few days after this dreadful event.

June 7.

"After I had been at church reading prayers, which I did every day since I was rector of this place, to keep up some show of religion, and was gone to a place hard by the church, where the merchants meet, and where the President of the council was, who came into my company, and engaged me to take a glass of wormwood wine, as a whet before dinner, he being my very good friend, I staid with him: upon which he lighted a pipe of tobacco, which he was pretty long in taking; and not being willing to leave him before it was all out, this determined me from going to dinner to one Captain Ruden's, whither I was invited: whose house, upon the first

concussion, sunk into the earth, and then into the sea, with his wife and family, and some that were come to dine with him: had I been there, I had been lost. But to return to the President, and his pipe of tobacco: before that was out, I found the ground rolling, and moving under my feet; upon which I said to him, 'Lord, Sir, what is that?' He replied, being a very grave man, 'It is an earthquake; be not afraid, it will soon be over.'"

The confidence of the unfortunate President proved his destruction, for he was never heard of more; but, says the Rector, "I made toward Morgan's fort, because, being a wide, open place, I thought to be there securest from the falling houses: but as I was going, I saw the earth open, and swallow up a multitude of people; and the sea mounting in upon them, over the fortifications. Moreover, their large and famous burying-place, called the Palisadoes, was destroyed, and the sea washed away the carcasses. The whole harbour, one of the fairest and goodliest, was covered with dead bodies, floating up and down. In the opening of the earth the houses and inhabitants sinking down together, some of them were driven up again by the sea, which arose in those chasms, and wonderfully escaped."

Such was the case, it has been said, of Lewis Galdy, who was afterwards, during many years, a member of Assembly for Port Royal, and now lies buried in Green Bay, opposite. On his tomb the

event is recorded in an inscription, still legible, beneath a shield bearing a cock, two stars, and a crescent, with the motto, *Dieu sur tout.*

"Here lies the Body
of
Lewis Galdy, Esquire;
who departed this life at Port Royal,
the 22nd December, 1736,
aged 80 years.

He was born at Montpellier in France, but left that country for his religion, and came to settle in this island; where he was swallowed up in the great earthquake in the year 1692; and, by the providence of God, was, by another shock, thrown into the sea, and miraculously saved by swimming, until a boat took him up. He lived many years after in great reputation, beloved by all who knew him, and much lamented at his death."

"Others," continues the Rector, "were swallowed up to the neck; and then the earth shut upon them, and squeezed them to death: and in that manner several were left buried with their heads above ground; only some heads the dogs have eaten; others are covered with dust and earth by the people which yet remain in the place, to avoid the stench. So that they conjecture, that, by the falling of the houses, the opening of the earth, and the inundation of the waters, there are lost fifteen hundred persons of good note; as Attorney-general Musgrove, Provost-marshal Reeves, Lord-secretary Reeves, &c."

Appalling as was this visitation, yet there is some reason to believe that the strength of the wormwood wine, or the terror of the moment, operated power-

fully upon the Rector's senses; and that this detail is, in some points, exaggerated. The town was principally built upon a triangular bank of sand, loosely adhering to a shelving rock, whose base is in the sea. A slight concussion, therefore, aided by the enormous weight of buildings thereon, would cause this Delta to slip into the water, whence it had been, by degrees, and but lately, thrown up. Indeed so recently had the sand accumulated there, that when Jackson invaded St. Jago, only fifty-four years previous, the point, upon which Port Royal stood, was entirely separated from the main land; and even when Venables took the island, it was joined to it only by a slender ridge of sand just breaking through the waves.

Comparing the foregoing account with the testimony of many witnesses, it appears that the morning of the 7th of June had been clear, hot, and sultry; not a cloud was above the horizon, nor a breath of air abroad. The earthquake commenced at forty minutes past eleven, A. M. with a gentle, tremulous motion; and was succeeded by another shock somewhat more violent, but accompanied with a hollow, rolling noise, mysteriously sounding in the earth and air. This dreadful warning, too familiar to West Indian ears, was instantly followed by a third tremendous shock; when screams of anguish, and inarticulate cries of horror, were as quickly drowned by the rush of waters, and the simultaneous crash of a thousand falling edifices.

The ruins are even yet visible in clear weather from the surface of the waters under which they lie. The harbour appeared in motion, as if agitated by a storm, although no air was stirring; mighty billows rose and fell, with such unaccountable violence, that many ships broke from their cables; and the Swan frigate was forced over the tops of the sunken houses. This afforded a providential refuge for many of the drowning sufferers. Of the whole town, perhaps the richest spot in the world, no more was left than the fort; and about two hundred houses.

In the opposite rock, at Port Henderson, the shock rent many caverns, which are still visible; and through these the waters, forced up to an elevation of twenty feet, continued gushing, with a sulphureous steam, during several succeeding days. The houses in Spanish Town were shaken to their foundations; the walls of all were split; and those recently erected, upon a plan less secure than that adopted by the wary Spaniards, were totally demolished. On the road to Sixteen-mile-walk, two mountains fell, and met: the riven hills were closed with colossal masses of disjointed rock, which stopped up the bed of the river, and which in some places still remain—the eternal witnesses of that day's dreadful convulsion. The water, thus confined, rose to an overwhelming height; and then, bursting its adamantine barrier, bore all before it. There was scarcely a mountain in the Island that did not change its outline; or a rock which was not

split. In Saint David's parish the traveller is amazed by a fearful precipice of solid rock; and shudders at the tradition of an entire plantation having been buried by the fall of the enormous mass which thus leaves the bleached cliff bare. Every spring was observed to rise; or, what is more probable, the entire surface of the island somewhat subsided; and on one spot "above one thousand acres of land are said to have sunk with thirteen inhabitants*." The tremendous convulsions were repeated, with little intermission, though with decreasing violence, for the space of three weeks; and every fissure in the rocks, every cleft in the cracked and parching earth, was steaming with sulphureous fumes. The air reeked with noxious miasmata; and the sea exhaled an offensive putrid vapour which destroyed a great proportion of those destitute and wretched beings whom the convulsion itself had spared. No fewer than three thousand were the victims of this dreadful endemic; and the few surviving inhabitants of Port Royal who sought a refuge in temporary huts where Kingston now stands, were yet within reach of the contagious cause: for the dead bodies still floated in shoals about the harbour, and added horror to a scene which the pencil could not delineate, much less the pen describe. The insupportable heat of a tropical midsummer was not, for many weeks, refreshed even by a partial breath of air; the sky blazed with irresistible fierceness;

* Long's Hist. of Jamaica, v. ii. p. 142.

swarms of musquitoes clouded the atmosphere; while the lively beauty of the mountain forests suddenly vanished, and the fresh verdure of the lowland scenery was changed to the russet grey of a northern winter. The cane-fields were disfigured by masses of fallen rock, and presented to the wearied eye a barren wilderness, parched, and furrowed. Thus vanished the glory of the most flourishing emporium in the New World, by a succession of tremendous judgments, resembling those visitations of an offended Deity on some cities in the Old World, where an iniquitous race was overwhelmed in sudden and unexpected ruin. Large sums of money, arising from the treasures of unknown or lost proprietors fell into the hands of many individuals; and amongst others, into those of Sir William Beeston, who was charged by the Assembly, ten years afterwards, with having appropriated a considerable share to his own use. One loss was irrecoverable, and is still severely felt: that of all the official papers public and records of the island, whose history is thereby rendered so obscure and incomplete*.

A.D. 1696.

* See Note LXXI.

Chapter IX.

The History of the Colony continued until the Settlement of its Constitution.

The enemies of Great Britain, who had suffered so
A.D. 1693. much from the inhabitants of Port Royal, were not idle spectators of an event which thus glutted their revenge. They proposed, and anticipated, the easy conquest of an island distressed by misfortune, and weak with sickness. Sir William Beeston, however, arrived as Lieutenant-governor;
March. and his prompt activity prepared for the threatened attack. But his first assembly was prefaced by a law for a perpetual fast to commemorate the late calamity; and then the shattered remains of Port Royal were the subject of the long debate which ended in a resolution to repair them; and this was followed by an order to the Receiver-general, the Secretary, and the Postmaster, to overcome their fears, and hold their offices there.

During this session, the records of which are very
A.D. 1694. imperfect, there occurred a serious difference between the council and the assembly, in the consideration of a money-bill to provide for the defence of the island, and a suitable residence for its governor. An offensive message was carried from the lower house

by a member, who said "that he was commanded to acquaint the board that, notwithstanding the misconstructions from the lame report of its clerk, and the uncommon usage to the house in their expected access, yet, for their Majesties' service, and the safety of the island, they had let all disputes fall, and brought up the money-bill a second time, which the house adhered to." To this it was replied, "that the message sent up by the Assembly was false and scandalous," (such was the style of the council,) "and an unworthy reflection on their Majesties' Lieutenant-governor, and this board; and that this board never knew of their sending up a money-bill after it was sent down with the amendment, till this present afternoon." The right arrogated by the members of the council at this early period of their legislation, not only to reject but to amend money-bills, and to apply public money, has since been very frequently made the subject of contention. Like other matters which allow not of proof, it yet admits of endless controversy, although totally repugnant to the usages of Parliament. To waive the probable issue of the disputed point in this instance, the Lieutenant-governor thought it prudent to dissolve the Assembly*.

The depredations committed by the French cruisers now became seriously alarming, and a formidable descent was hourly expected. Colonel Beckford was immediately sent "to lay at

A.D. 1694.

* See Note LXXIX.

their Majesties' feet their present deplorable condition;" and on the night of the 31st of May, intelligence reached the Lieutenant-governor that the enemy's fleet was actually upon the coast. He instantly convened the Assembly; and adjourned it, after holding a council of war to adopt the means of defence. The following detail of the invasion is from his official pen.

May 31.

NARRATIVE OF THE FRENCH INVASION.

By SIR WILLIAM BEESTON.

"A BRIEF account of what happened in their Majesties' island of Jamaica during the time the French were preparing to attack that island, and remained upon, or about it, in 1694, in which I shall be obliged to make some short digressions, because I shall have occasion to mention some persons, without which all things will not be so well understood.

"Privateering having been for some years past discountenanced in this island, and encouraged amongst the French at Hispaniola, many of our people went over to them, and, in time, became theirs: others, some Roman Catholics, some Irish, some much inclined to think they could that way serve King James; and others, through dissatisfaction, and being in debt, ran away to them—by which means they were strengthened, and we were weakened. The chief of these rogues was one Grubbin, who was born here of English parents, and who, knowing all

parts of the island, has done much mischief by landing in the night upon lone settlements near the sea, and robbing them of all they had, and away again before any notice could be given. Stapleton and Lynch, also, two Irishmen, have, since my coming, proved very inveterate. The first came from the Windward Islands, and brought his wife and children, and was kindly received about Port Morant; the other, I guess, came in a sloop for a spy to him. I tendered the oaths, but he refused them, and got out of the way before I could have him apprehended. After him I sent a warrant all over the island; but Major Kelly found a way to send them off in a sloop that he pretended was to go to Curaçoa, to get sailors (whither many of our seamen had resorted because they would not be pressed into the navy) for a great Dutch ship he had brought there, and probably that was part of his design; but he put in the sloop about twelve hundred pounds' worth of indigo, and sent it privately, contrary to the act of navigation. About this time he was killed alone by the French, who had landed a party at Cocoa Bay to plunder, as he was riding up to Port Morant to despatch this sloop. Soon after it sailed, and those two men in her; who, to requite him for his kindness, ran away with her, and all the indigo, to the French; and there these two wretches told Le Sieur Ducass, the governor, that this island was to be easily taken; the fortifications at Port Royal were out of order, and few men there; so

that two hundred men would take that place, and two hundred more would march in any part of the country, the people were so few, and so unused to arms. Stapleton wrote to his wife, whom he had lodged near the sea, in St. Thomas's parish, that he would come and fetch her, and some company, meaning negroes; and other discoveries he made therein; but by chance the letter came to my hand, and I secured his wife.

"Sometime in April, one Captain Elliot was sent in the Pembroke sloop, with a cargo of eight or ten thousand pounds, to trade upon the coasts of Carthagena and Porto Bello; and there in a bay, he was taken by two French privateers, and carried to Petit Goave. About the same time I got the Falcon manned, and gave orders to Captain Bryan to cruise seven or eight leagues to windward; where he presently met six privateers with five hundred men, designed to land and plunder the parishes of St. Thomas and St. David. The privateers fled, but a prize of theirs fell into our hands. At this juncture arrived at Petit Goave some merchant-ships from France, and three large men-of-war. The Governor there being told by the privateers where the Falcon was cruising, these ships were sent out, with another of twelve guns, to take her; which they effected.

April.

"All our ships had been on the coast of Hispaniola, and there, accidentally, met with Grubbin's wife, a French woman he had married there, and

at her desire they brought her hither, where she earnestly desired to stay, and to have protection from her husband; and as it was a stated agreement between Ducass and myself, that what of their nation were with us, and desired to continue so, should not be obliged to be sent away against their wills, and the like with ours that were with them; therefore, when they had a flag of truce here, I would have had her gone with M. Lepass, but she refused: so Grubbin, in revenge, told the people, when he landed and plundered; and wrote to me, that if I did not send off his wife, he would carry away every woman he could meet with, till he had his wife again.

"Accordingly, one night he landed at a lone house in St. Elizabeth's, one Mrs. Barrow's, a minister's widow, plundered all her negroes, and all she had; tortured her to discover her money, and took away with him her maiden daughter, Miss Rachael Barrow, to Petit Goave. This passed a hundred miles from me, so that I heard not of it presently. Other privateers went to the north side of the island, where they took Major Terry and his wife, and several sloops. I then considered these were inhumanities beyond the custom of war, and therefore sent Major Low, one of the council, and Lieutenant-colonel Clarke, with a flag of truce, and a letter to M. Ducass, remonstrating with him; but they were seized, plundered, and detained as prisoners.

"Whilst I was under some doubts and concernments, which daily increased upon me as the time

passed away, on Thursday the last day of May, in the evening as I was sitting with some gentlemen, comes into my house Captain Elliot, whom I have before mentioned to have been taken by the French, in a very mean habit, and with a meagre weather-beaten countenance, and told me that, for the safety of the island, he and two more had ventured their lives to the will of the sea in a small canoe; and had, the Saturday night before, stolen away from the enemy, to let me know that the French had recruits of men, and men-of-war, from France, and Martinique; that they had taken the Falcon; that they had twenty sail, and three thousand men, designed to take this island; and in order to it, M. Ducass was coming with them; that Stapleton, Lynch, and others, had told him he would meet with but little difficulty, for the fortifications at Port Royal were down since the earthquake, and that at least five hundred men, some Roman Catholics, and others affected to King James, would join him; that they were ready to sail when he came away, and might be expected in two or three days, hoping to take us by surprise.

"This was surprising news; but the Council and Assembly being then together here, I presently sent for the former, and soon after for the Speaker, and concluded he should call the Assembly together, and adjourn for one month: which was accordingly done; and a council of war of the officers immediately called, and martial law proclaimed, and every officer ordered to his post." At this time one of the bastions

of Fort Charles was built but up to the sills of the ports: but Colonel Beckford, who commanded there, quickly put all in order, laid a line of nineteen culverins to the east of the fort, and five to the west, and fitted a fire-ship: at the same time he laid the Advice to second the fort; drew all the merchants' ships into a line; barricaded the streets, and lined them with great guns. To strengthen him, I sent him fifty white men, and fifty blacks, from Saint Catherine, and as many from Saint Andrew, and Kingston; while, in the latter places, Colonel Lawe drew lines, and secured a narrow pass to the eastward of Kingston; and Sir James Castillo, having garrisoned and provided his house, which was well walled and gunned for a defence, they built a regular fort on the parade. At Saint Catherine's side we likewise made very good breastworks, and planted guns, as was done at Old Harbour, and Carlisle Bay; while I sent for all the forces from the out parts, and drew them together into Saint Dorothy, Saint Catherine, Saint Andrew, and Port Royal; leaving some few to defend the breastwork at Carlisle Bay, which was thirty miles off. The people of Saint Thomas, and Saint David, the easternmost parts of the island and most obnoxious to the enemy, I ordered all in: at Fort William, and Port Morant, I ordered the guns to be spiked, the shot buried, and the powder brought away.

"According to our daily expectation, on Sunday
June 17. morning the fleet came in sight, with

a fresh gale; and we thought they would have come directly into Port Royal; but they had met with no intelligence, and therefore eight sail stayed about Port Morant, and fourteen of them went to an anchor in Cow Bay. Here a negro presently came to them, and told them that Captain Elliot was arrived, that we had notice of their coming, and that Port Royal was fortified. Nevertheless M. Ducass would have come in, but M. Rollon, the admiral, who commanded the Temeraire, would not venture. Then they fell to landing their men, plundered, burnt, and destroyed all before them eastward; and cut down the very fruit trees. Some of the straggling people, that were left behind, they tortured—particularly Charles Barber; and James Newcastle they murdered in cold blood. During their stay at Port Morant, they despatched four or five vessels to the north side; and in Saint Mary, and Saint George, burnt several plantations: while the admiral's ship was blown from her anchors in Cow Bay, and, for want of water, bore away for Blue-Fields Bay; where he landed sixty men, but Major Andress soon drove them on board their ship again.

"The fleet, having done all the mischief it could at Port Morant, sailed; and some of them came in sight of Port Royal, and went to anchor again in Cow Bay. To amuse us, they landed their men very fast, and made fires along the Bay; which gave us cause to think they designed to force the pass into Saint Andrews: for fear of which I sent thither about an hundred men; but

July 16.

still doubted a trick; and so it happened: for, as soon as it was dark, they all took their men on board again, and sailed; all but three of their biggest ships, which still kept in Cow Bay to amuse us: so that the 18th in the morning we saw seventeen of them from our lookouts in the country, standing to the westward; and then I concluded their design was to surprise Carlisle Bay; but I presently sent there two troops of horse, and part of the regiments of Saint Catherine, and Clarendon, and Saint Elizabeth.

"The enemy came all to an anchor in that Bay, in the afternoon; where lay a ship from Guinea, which the Captain set fire to, and withdrew his crew to defend the breastwork. Into this breastwork were gotten two hundred and fifty men, besides blacks, being those of the regiments that got down first; and Colonel Sutton of Clarendon was the chief officer, and builder of the work; but it was ill made, and worse contrived. On the south was the sea; on the west a large river; on the north a village; and on the east they had left a wood standing, and made no provision for the men or horses.

July 18.

"Next morning, some hours before day, the French, in all their fleet, made signs for landing, by throwing up, in every vessel, small balls of wildfire; and by daylight they had landed about fifteen hundred, but avoided the breastwork, and landed about a mile and a half to the east-

Jly 19.

ward of it; where were small guards to watch them; who fired as they approached, and retreated about ten in the morning. They having now very good guards came down the wood on the east side; they fell very hotly on the breastwork, which kept up a great fire; and the French officers forcing on their men, ours gave way and fled to the westward; where many got over the river, and were saved; others bogged, and drowned. Many of the officers, and most of the men, fought bravely, and killed many of the enemy before they were forced to retreat. Colonel Claybourn of St. Elizabeth's, and his Captain-lieutenant Vassell, were killed; as also Lieutenant-colonel Smart, of Clarendon, Lieutenant Dawkins, and others. Captains Dawkins and Fisher, and many others, taken prisoners, and four of their colours lost.

"Just as the French forced the breastwork, three or four companies of the St. Catherine's regiment, with one of St. Elizabeth, and some horse, came in after a march of thirty miles that night, weary, lame, and hungry; yet they fell bravely on the right of the enemy, and charged them so warmly that they could not follow our men across the river, or else they had been all cut off. Here both officers and men behaved themselves with that gallantry that they made the enemy retire, and ours then being very much fatigued, did the like, to recruit themselves. Here Captain Rakestead, and some others, were wounded, and some killed, on our side, and many of the French;

who, as soon as the rencounter was over, fell, according to their wonted barbarity, to burn and destroy all they came near, and made no other advance toward our forces, nor we toward them, but in several skirmishing parties, till Sunday: then they marched upwards, and came to a brick house of one Mr. Hubbard, who had gotten about five-and-twenty men into it, well provided with arms, ammunition, water, and conveniences. On this house they fell smartly; but they from within applied themselves so to their defence, that they killed many, and wounded more; and of these, several of their considerable officers. A party of horse and foot came up in time, and beat them off; but here we lost some men: also our scouts brought news this evening that the enemy were providing great guns to batter the house.

July 22.

"At this time, some of the chief of our officers not being so brisk, nor managing with such conduct as the case required, the commissioned officers chose Major Richard Lloyd, major to myself, of the regiment of horse, to direct and command all the force there, which then was above seven hundred; and sent an express to me to confirm it,—which I did.

"The next day, being Monday, Major Lloyd put about fifty men into Mr. Hubbard's house, and laid the rest of the forces in an excellent ambuscade, expecting the enemy to come on, as they had reported; which had they done, few had returned alive: but that night they set fire to the

July 23.

small town of Carlisle, and went all aboard their ships. On Tuesday their whole fleet sailed. M. Ducass, and two or three or ships, made the best of their way, and stayed not anywhere; but about seventeen sail went into Port Morant to wood and water, which they did with all speed. On Saturday they put ashore most of the prisoners they had taken, and we have heard nothing of them from that time."

July 28.

Thus happily terminated the most formidable attack which was ever made upon the shores of Jamaica; and with no greater cost to the English than about one hundred men killed, or wounded; while the French lost upwards of seven hundred. To Captain Elliot the island presented a medal and chain, with 500*l.*; and the two men who ventured with him in the canoe were each handsomely rewarded. The brick house, in which so gallant a stand was made, remains with the shot visible in its walls; and a solitary cotton-tree, in the road from the Abbey to Carlisle Bay, still marks the rallying point of the English, and the grave of many a valiant soldier.

Labat, with his usual inaccuracy, asserts that his countrymen captured and burnt Port Royal, and destroyed more towns in Jamaica than Jamaica ever possessed: and that Ducass and his officers "y ont fait des fortunes si considérables, qu'elles auroient

pû faire envie aux plus riches particuliers de l'Europe*."

Aided by the melancholy catastrophe of the earthquake, the consequences of his visit were, however, as disastrous as the greatest enemies of Jamaica could desire. Fifty sugar-estates were totally destroyed, with many plantations in St. Thomas, St. David, and St. Mary; and thirteen hundred negroes were carried off, besides spoil to a considerable amount. In the parish of St. Ann, a detachment under Beauregard laid waste a large tract of country belonging to Mr. Waterhouse, and captured several merchant-ships at Ocho Rios.

Sir William Beeston received the thanks of their Majesties, and a promise of such assistance as should "not only free Jamaica from the insults of the enemy at present, but reduce the French in its neighbourhood to such a condition as to put them out of capacity for the future to molest the inhabitants, or to disturb the trade or commerce of their Majesties' subjects in those parts." A squadron was therefore despatched, commanded by Commodore Wilmot, with twelve hundred land forces under Colonel Lillingston, to retaliate on the French settlements in Hispaniola. In this expedition, the English and the Spaniards for once fought side by side on Indian ground. Numerous towns fell beneath their united efforts, and a vast plunder became the property of the conquerors. But the

A.D. 1695.

* Labat, tom. ii. p. 215. 4to. ed. 1724.

treacherous Commodore, to increase his own portion of the spoil, sacrificed his troops, and shared no better fate himself.

About this period the rebellious negroes, having formed several considerable settlements in the interior of the island, commenced offensive war, under Cudjoe, their native leader; and, during the forty-seven succeeding years, they continued to harass the country, causing the expenditure of at least two hundred and forty thousand pounds, and the enactment of forty-four different laws.

The Assembly met, according to adjournment; but no proceedings of that session are to be found on record, nor any other information than may be collected from the official intercourse between it and the council. Thence it appears that a dissension arose upon the question, whether the sum of thirteen hundred pounds, voted to Colonel Beckford for going to England, should not be applied to "the exigency of relieving the people who were undone by the enemy." The Governor offered rather to give a hundred pounds for that purpose from his private purse; and urged that, if he sanctioned any alteration in the former vote, "his neck would answer for any mischief which might happen to the island for want of the required succours." At length he complied with the desire of the House, and then dissolved it.

The treaty, ratified between England and Spain, among other points, had arranged that which related

to their joint commerce in negroes; and Sir James de Castillo, who received his knighthood from King William, resided here as agent for the latter power, to purchase slaves and ship British manufactures to the Main. His services during the late invasion induced the Assembly to confirm to him a parcel of land in the neighbourhood of Kingston, which still retains his name; and, during the third Assembly of Sir William Beeston, a donation of four thousand pounds was presented by the King to those who had suffered by the incursions of the French.

Their numerous cruisers still harassed the northern shores of the island, and M. Ponti feigned an attack; but Admiral Neville pursued him, and captured one of the richest ships of his squadron, worth about two hundred thousand pounds sterling; after which they never made any serious attempt upon Jamaica.

A.D. 1696.

Nothing of importance occurred, either in colonial politics, or local incident, during the last few years of the seventeenth century. Sir William Beeston failed in obtaining any concession from the Assembly towards the enactment of a perpetual revenue; and, wearied with fruitless attempts, dissolved it. Peace having been proclaimed with France, the next Assembly profited by the favourable opportunity to improve the internal condition of the island, as well as to complete its defence in those points where it had been lately found so vulnerable. But the rebellious negroes still continued to harass

A.D. 1698.

the interior plantations, and as it was found necessary to give further encouragement to the importation of a white population, an act was passed "to enable certain persons to sell white servants."

The Jews, now become a body of considerable opulence, forgot the humility which had rendered them respectable, aspired to political equality, and applied for a removal of their disabilities. Their petition met with a decided refusal; and one of their irritated body was compelled literally on his knees, to ask the pardon of the House for having dared to strike the negro servant of a member. At this time the Scotch settlement at Darien* was suppressed by an order, directed to the several British Governors in the West Indies, prohibiting all assistance to that unfortunate establishment. The company had fortified Golden Island at the bottom of the gulph, where the narrow isthmus would be a defence against an host of invaders, and deny all access to the Indies of the East. But this commercial enterprise, which promised the fairest prospects, and was supported by the most respectable individuals, was sacrificed to the new alliance, the legitimate rights, or the vain arrogance, of the Spanish nation; which conceived a foreign settlement in a nation of unconquered Indians to be an infringement of its ridiculous pretensions to the New World. In vain did the Scotch repeat their petitions to the King for a re-establishment of their

* See Note LXXIII.

settlement: in vain did they beseech his Majesty to call upon his Parliament to support their expiring colony,—the only answer they obtained was, "that his Majesty was sorry for the loss of his ancient kingdom, and of the company; that they still had the same liberty to trade to the West Indies, as formerly; and that he would call the Parliament when he thought the good of the nation required it."

Jamaica was closed against them by a proclamation, in which it was declared that "their settlement was contrary to the peace between his Majesty, and his allies;" and all his Majesty's subjects were forbidden to hold any correspondence with them, or afford them any assistance. The House of Lords addressed the King against their re-establishment; and that circumstance becomes memorable, when it is coupled with the fact that it afforded an occasion to his Majesty then first to propose the union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland.

A.D. 1699.

Feb. 12.

Several inhabitants of Port Royal were convicted of, and punished for, having arranged a plan to support the Darien colony; and in this humane plot Sir James de Castillo was implicated. Such councils decreed, and such power executed, the destruction of the company, that a book, fair and harmless in itself, but entitled "An Enquiry into the Scots Colony at Darien," was declared by the Commons to be a false and traitorous libel, and ordered

to be burned by the common hangman. Thus hunted down, the remains of the ill-fated colony, ruined in their fortunes and starved out of their possessions, solicited, and, at length obtained, permission to join the Surinam planters in Jamaica. They established themselves between Bluefields and Luana Point; where they may yet be traced at Culloden, and Auchindown.

The government of Sir William Beeston was one of political embarrassment, and no inconsiderable responsibility. It fell to his lot to provide against, and encounter, the most formidable attempt which was ever made by a foreign power to subdue the island. He had, moreover, to stem the torrent of overwhelming distress which followed the destruction of its great commercial capital; while his instructions respecting the Revenue Bill were in opposition to the wishes of the community, and the decisions of its senate. Yet he, for a considerable time, secured to himself a greater share of popularity than had been enjoyed by any of his immediate predecessors;

A.D. 1700. and he dissolved this Assembly in tolerable harmony with all its members. There happened indeed an instance of stubborn opposition to his will, in the re-election of Usher Tyrrell, the member for Saint James's, who, at his instance, had been expelled the house. He sent back the return for further consideration; but, with the advice of his council, he at length forbore the provocation,

and confirmed the writ. The succeeding Assembly,
1701. however, exhibited a scene of boisterous
June 24. confusion, and continued irritation; for the governor would give no account of large sums of money, books, and writings, connected with unowned treasures found after the earthquake; and charity may suggest that he could render no statement of the disbursement of his Majesty's bounty of four thousand pounds intended to relieve the sufferers by the French invasion. But the consequence was,
July 28. that the house refused to proceed, was prorogued, and then dissolved by proclamation; leaving a stigma upon the character of Sir William Beeston which his explanation never effaced. He was superseded in the government by
1702. Major-general Selwyn, governor of Tilbury
Jan. 21. Fort; in whose Assembly an address was presented praying that Sir William Beeston might not be permitted to quit the island without accounting for the monies he had appropriated. Selwyn
April 5. died; and Colonel Beckford, who had a dormant commission, of old date, caused his power, as Lieutenant-governor, to be proclaimed; and so continued the session. Beckford had passed through almost all the public offices in the island, as he observed in his speech, "though with no great applause, yet without complaint;" and he carried on the business of this session in a manner which redeemed the pledge he had given, that he would

"comport himself as well like a faithful servant to his King, as a true lover of his country." Nothing of importance occurred, however; the death of the King caused a premature dissolution, and the proclamation of Queen Anne.

June 24.

Louis XIV. having seized the Spanish dominions in right of his grandson, their territories in America fell, of course, into his hands. This occasioned "the Grand Alliance" which the late king concluded with the Emperor, and the States-general, against France; and which now involved all Europe in a long, and bloody war, terminated only by the peace of Utrecht in the year 1713. The Queen, therefore, liberally encouraged all adventurers who should attempt to clip the Spanish dominions in the west; and Lieutenant-governor Beckford seconded her views by such means as Jamaica could afford. Admiral Benbow insulted the French, and their new allies, even in their ports. He sought M. Ducass, encountered, and gallantly beat him; but he was compelled to withdraw from the action, ere he had effected the destruction of his squadron. The cowardice of his captains cast a veil over the glory of this achievement, which the gallant Admiral did not long survive: he received a mortal gun-shot wound, and was buried in Kingston church. A court-martial was held on board the Breda, at Port Royal; and of the five officers tried, two were sent home, and suffered the fate which their cowardice merited.

The governor had now convened another Assem-
Aug. 6. bly; and lists of negroes, stock, and servants, were returned as follows:

Servants	1307
Slaves	41,596
Cattle	38,248
Sheep	28,598

The windward districts of the island were harassed by the rebellious slaves; and after adopting measures for "pursuing and destroying them," the
Aug. 28. house was prorogued without any occurrence worthy of record.

The Earl of Peterborough was appointed governor of Jamaica, and the queen gave him far greater powers than any one in that station had ever enjoyed. Why he came not to his government does not appear: probably a better appointment awaited him; for soon afterwards we find him commanding the land forces on board the fleet, which, under Sir Cloudesley Shovell, sailed for the coast of Spain, and receiving the thanks of his country for his signal services in Catalonia.

The offensive war, maintained by the Duke of Marlborough in Flanders, withdrew all attention from the prosecution of active hostilities against the Spaniards here; and a small squadron only came to Jamaica. The merchants seized the opportunity
A.D. 1708. for reviving the privateering system; and the gold mines at Santa Cruz Decana rewarded their daring industry with an immense

treasure. But as if to exemplify the instability of human prosperity, Port Royal had no sooner reared its head above the ruins of the earthquake than it was a second time, even more completely, destroyed by a conflagration, which burst forth from the crowded warehouses where these spoils were heaped. With the exception of the two royal forts, and magazines, not a building was left. The rapid devastation was principally owing to the quantity of gunpowder, and other combustibles, which were lodged beneath roofs of pitch-pine; a species of covering thenceforth prudently forbidden.

Jan. 9.

This ruinous accident caused a second emigration to Kingston, which now rose as rapidly as her elder sister declined. Port Royal long remained a mere heap of ashes; but possessing all the conveniences of trade, it still continued the favourite, though fearful, resort of the privateers.

Colonel Beckford had been superseded by Lieutenant-general Handasyde; a report had prevailed that the enemy was off the east end of the island, threatening a descent, and an hasty bill, providing for the safety of the colony, had been reluctantly passed by the council. The lieutenant-governor convened the next Assembly at Kingston; called attention to the deplorable condition of the sufferers by the late fire; and, with its concurrence, liberally provided for them. But the journals are so defective that none of the records of this session, prior to the first of March, are to be found; and the defi-

ciency is but imperfectly supplied from the council manuscripts. It was decreed, however, that Port Royal should never be rebuilt: and, to encourage the infant town of Kingston, all the houses there were freed from taxes for the space of seven years. Disputes then arose respecting the maintenance of the troops lately arrived; and the house was hastily prorogued.

To Admiral Benbow succeeded Vice-admiral Groydon; who was soon removed from the command for gross abuses of his power. The success of the privateers was as great as ever; and the island became richer than even in Morgan's days.

April. But on the meeting of the Assembly old wounds bled afresh; and the country became distracted by faction. Her Majesty instructed General Handasyde, whom she now raised to the dignity and powers of governor, to renew the demand for permanent revenue; and promised to extend the royal confirmation to the acts of the last twenty-one years, if that demand were acceded to: but she threatened, otherwise, to confirm the obnoxious act passed by the Duke of Albemarle. The several committees of the Council and Assembly not agreeing, as to the extent or meaning of these instructions, evasions were adopted, until the exigency of the case demanded an immediate provision for the troops arrived in Groydon's fleet, when the house adopted the strong measure of forbidding them to land, until their maintenance should be provided for. Close

confinement on board their ships, occasioned by this ill-timed obstinacy, caused the death of a great proportion of the recruits. At length the dictates of humanity prevailed over the feelings of political oppression, and a bill passed for their support. The council took advantage of the pressing occasion to enlarge the powers of the governor by important amendments. The house however adhered to its bill; and after a vain struggle, and a fatal delay, the governor's assent was obtained, and the troops were permitted to disembark.

The mode of dating, endorsing, and passing the bills, having been represented by the commissioners of trade as extremely irregular, it was now altered, and the form still in use was agreed to. But differences occurred between the two branches as to the admission of any conferences in matters relative to the revenue. The Assembly grounded their objections on the usage of the House of Commons; and the Council obscurely asserted its earlier legislative powers. In short, so disorderly were the proceedings of the session, so arrogant the pretensions of the Council, and so supine the measures of the Executive, that many members withdrew and refused submission to the Speaker's warrant, whom they even charged with malversation and irregularity. These members were expelled, but immediately re-elected; and the House refusing to admit them, the issue of new writs was prayed for.

One night, during this session, the public build-

ings were broken into, and the journals stolen, torn, and scattered about the streets. The depredators could not be discovered; but party spirit listened to such injurious suspicions, that the sitting members were actually sworn, to exculpate themselves from any participation in the outrage. At length the Lieutenant-governor, wearied by a fruitless contest of ten months, and unable to appease the dissensions, adopted the alternative of proroguing, and then dissolving, the Assembly; after passing an act appropriating twelve thousand pounds to the payment of the public debts, and to the subsistence of the troops.

Oct. 21.

During the recess no measures of conciliation were adopted by the Governor; the spirit of faction was carried into private life; and, although the wounds of dissension appeared healed, the poison still lurked in the vitals of the country. Public, and even private animosities were again renewed when the new House met, and required the attendance of the attorney-general;—an *order* the other branches of the legislature objected to. The Assembly remained obstinate, and was prorogued by proclamation. It resumed its sitting: the former objection, against the principle of conference on money-bills, was started, argued, and left at issue by an angry dissolution.

A.D. 1704.

March.

Oct. 8.

Port Royal had now risen from its smoking ashes,

for the Queen had rejected the bill forbidding it; and many rich prizes again poured their treasures on its shore. But the island was continually harassed by the incursions of the rebellious negroes, while the fear of foreign invasion called forth all its energy to furnish the necessary means for its defence. The fortifications at Carlisle Bay were therefore completed, and those at Port Royal enlarged; but although her Majesty had remonstrated on the inadequate provision for her troops here, the Assembly adhered to its parsimonious resolve, and all but one regiment were withdrawn. Indeed, her military governor seems to have been ill qualified either to compel or to conciliate. Accustomed to despotic power, and endowed with neither temper to forbear, nor discretion to avoid the provocations of opposition, the paltry virulence of his invectives, and the vulgar expression of his displeasure, tended only to excite disgust at the odious proposals he was charged with. Again he tried the expedient of calling a new Assembly; and again he dissolved it; throwing fresh fuel into the flames, and confirming its stubborn contumely. The same members were elected; and the popularity of some individuals was so great, that they were returned for several parishes. Hugh Totterdell, a patriotic or personal opponent of the Governor, was chosen Speaker; and the next session ended in a frivolous contest, and an intemperate

A.D. 1705.

A.D. 1706.

dissent to a bill extending the payment of the quit-rents.

1707. That which followed consented to a twelve-
Feb. 8. month's maintenance of the troops; but the council, with futile pertinacity, insisted on amending it; and after repeated prorogations, with some concessions, the bill was passed, and the House dissolved.

Spanish Town had now recovered much of its ancient splendour: it contained nearly as many houses as in the most prosperous period of Spanish dominion; the streets were crowded with the equipages of the wealthy inhabitants; a stand of coaches plied from the Great Square; a regular police was established; and a patrol paraded the streets at night. Passage Fort, also, was a flourishing hamlet, and maintained no inconsiderable trade. Two hundred houses, on a regular quay, were defended by a well-built battery of ten guns; the streets resounded with the noisy mirth of the seamen who there sought relaxation from the toils of active service; and stage-coaches, at a twenty-shilling fare, conveyed the more luxurious, or lazy, to the gaieties of the metropolis.

A daring squadron under Ducasse again appeared, and caused considerable alarm. The quartering-act was almost expired, and the House was called to

Sept. 29. meet the exigency; but it adhered to the resolution of admitting no officers of the regulars to places of civil employment, or even to the command of the militia; a determination originating in the jealous apprehension of the power to

billet, or otherwise dispose of the troops. A great deficiency appearing in the revenue, a poll-tax of ten shillings was laid upon all white persons above the age of fifteen years; and the business of the session was carried on with unusual harmony, until the old subject of a conference on a money-bill was again revived; when, to smother the bursting flame, the House was prudently prorogued, and intemperately dissolved.

A.D. 1708.

March 1.

In the following year an alarm was again spread, by a private letter from Paris, intimating the intention of M. Du Guay Trouin to make a descent upon Jamaica with the force which it was known was then preparing. Admiral Wager immediately collected his fleet at Port Royal, and writs were issued to convene an Assembly, when concordant interests caused a union of exertions, and it parted in harmony. During the recess, though no very formidable attempt was actually made to capture the island, yet the French cruisers committed such depredations upon the coasts, that the five thousand pounds, voted to equip sloops to protect them, allayed not the universal fear. Commerce decayed; agriculture declined, or was unsuccessful; and the act of parliament, which encouraged the American trade by demanding exorbitant duties on prize-goods, added not a little to the general distress; for it caused the desertion of those seamen who had hitherto been the strength and wealth of the colony.

A.D. 1709.

Jan. 4.

A.D. 1710.

In the following spring an Assembly was convened,
1711. and continued, by prorogation, until June;
April 17. when the right of adjournment for a longer period than *de die in diem* was claimed and argued by
June 8. the House. During a warm debate upon the subject, Peter Beckford, the speaker, repeatedly called to order; and was at length compelled to enforce it by adjournment. But irritation had gone so far that, when he rose to quit the chair, the members drew their swords, and held him there while the obnoxious questions in debate were put and carried. The doors were barred; the uproar was alarming; and the speaker's father heard the disturbance in the council-chamber. He recognised the voice of his son crying aloud for help, and rushed into the Governor's apartment. Sir Thomas Handasyde seized his sword, ordered the sentinels to follow him, forced the door of the court-house, and dissolved the Assembly in the Queen's name. But the fray was fatal to the elder Beckford; in his agitation his foot slipped, and he was precipitated down the staircase, and the effects of terror were deadly to his aged frame. His personal property amounted to four hundred and seventy-eight thousand pounds, and his real estate to as much more!

On the following day Sir Thomas issued his writs for summoning a new Assembly; but before it met, Lord Archibald Hamilton, who had been long expected, arrived to supersede him. There had now been fifteen sessions and the eight assemblies within the space of nine turbulent years.

Her Majesty's instructions to Lord Hamilton were positive, and their tenour harsh. He was directed not to pass any law for a shorter period than twelve months: for the House had usually limited their money-bills to three months, under the jealous apprehension of the Council's interference, or the Governor's intemperance. To part on friendly terms, a vote of thanks was extended to Sir Thomas; and his successor, greatly astonished at the late instance of legislative violence, entered upon his functions by requesting that "nothing further might be inquired into relative to that disorderly proceeding." The record was therefore expunged, and, to give a turn to fearful politics, he seasonably announced the relief which had been obtained from American duties; a measure which well prefaced his administration by affording prospects of prosperity to the commercial interests of the colony. The country was conciliated; liberal supplies were raised by an annual bill; and his administration seemed to open a new era of concord and content. But the prospect was delusive.

July 28.

Terms of peace had been offered by France; and the preservation of the West Indies to Great Britain formed one of the most prominent features of the negotiation. To this measure the Queen was pledged by her assurance to the Lords, that she would do her utmost "to recover Spain and the West Indies from the House of Bourbon." Various circumstances, and, amongst others, the memorable

quarrel between the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, kept the negotiations long in suspense; A.D. 1712. and the delay sent a new set of privateers into the American seas. Yet, so great was the internal strength of this island, or, perhaps, so low were its resources, that only one regiment of regulars was kept in pay to defend it. A considerable force, under Sir Hovenden Walker, was, however, stationed at Port Royal. Unfortunately a difference reigned between him and the Governor, which the Assembly ascribed to a proclamation, that none of the Queen's ships should be allowed to carry commercial produce. A private dispute produced a public censure on the petulant Admiral; who wantonly refused to convey the cartel to Petit Guave with a commission to regulate commerce. The Government was still so relaxed by weakness, and agitated by discord, that after a session of only fifteen days, the objection of several members to resume their seats caused a dissolution.

When the succeeding Assembly was convened, these wounds were again opened, and all A.D. 1713. was clamour and confusion. The diligence of flattery or malice had, in the interval, echoed a whisper that the attorney-general, Broderick, was the author of certain papers reflecting much discredit on the late proceedings. He was now, therefore, declared "a disperser of false news, an incendiary, and a common disturber of the peace;" and her Majesty was petitioned to remove him. Broderick

saw the storm ready to burst over his head, and prudently resigned his appointments: yet he still found a powerful friend in the Governor, and factious support from some members of the council.

The treaty with Spain, which was signed at Utrecht, gave the exclusive benefit of the Assiento trade to Great Britain, upon condition that she should annually furnish four thousand eight hundred slaves. This arrangement deprived the Jamaica merchants of the facilities which they had hitherto enjoyed, of selling to the Spaniards the negroes they imported, or the manufactures they brought from England and the northern colonies. A stagnation of trade was the immediate consequence, and further misfortunes were apprehended; for it appeared reasonable that if an exclusive trade to Africa should also be allowed, by a renewal of the charter, the planters must abandon their estates, and remove to some colony where their capitals would be more secure, and their industry more productive. An address was, therefore, sent to the Queen, praying relief; the prayer was heard, and relief was eventually granted. Subsistence for the army was then provided during "one year, and no longer;" but the council persisted in the disputed right of amendment, and the bill was lost. The House then refused to justify its allegations against Broderick. The Governor was indignant, and objected to any adjournment until the money-bill was passed. The members immediately assumed a pri-

July.

vilege of adjournment as suited their convenience, and ordered the speaker to announce a recess of thirty days. This innovation could not be permitted, and a dissolution terminated the contest*.

A letter from Broderick to Colonel Hanger, founded upon the existing state of party-spirit, and sanctioned, perhaps, by the intriguing counsels of the Governor, was now the object of warm contention and bitter reproach. It contained too many facts to be pleasing to the Assembly on the one hand, or to admit of his abandonment by the executive, on the other. It exposed a system of corruption and oppression unequalled in the annals of elections, and from which the confined circumstances of a colony ought long to have preserved it. These dark shades in the government of Lord Hamilton were totally destructive of the bright prospect which the commencement of his administration had afforded. They occasioned the intemperate agitation of a privilege which he could never resign; and he was thenceforth thwarted in all his operations. Though the public might perhaps judge him harshly in the affair of the Bahama wrecks, yet his conduct afforded some ground or colour for private reproach; and all his endeavours to conciliate here, or to defend himself at home, were remarkably unfortunate.

A.D. 1714.

The accession of George I. claimed a suitable address from the colonies; but the council, influenced by the irritated governor, objected to some trivial

* See Note LXXIV.

form, and originated a dispute, which, after a session of three days, ended in a dissolution. This occurrence, however, left a deep, and not unreasonable impression, that such strong measures were resorted to merely to secure Broderick from the meditated inquiry into his dark intrigues.

His Majesty's instructions summoned another Assembly; and his command reinstated the exulting Attorney-general. This command was entertained with a murmur of suspicion, and discontent; but it was positive, and must be obeyed. The only alternative which discordant weakness could suggest, was to withhold those supplies, for the want of which the troops were in the greatest distress. The house continued sitting throughout the Christmas holydays; while nothing but fruitless inquiries, and peevish complaints, occupied the attention of each branch of the legislature. An address, indeed, was framed and addressed to his Majesty, upon the report of a committee to inquire into the state of the island: but it was little better than an impeachment of the governor, and of his council; and it put an end to the session before the exigencies of the country had been provided for. After a most ungracious dismissal, in ten days the angry members met again; but it was only to renew the struggle, and to receive messages from the governor, purporting that he would receive no more from them. An abrupt dissolution, and his Lordship's removal from the

1715. Oct.

1716.

government, was the immediate consequence. He was succeeded by Peter Heywood, an humble planter of the island, but one who had eminently served it by patriotic example, and in private life. Lord Hamilton was solemnly examined before the council, touching the charges preferred against him by the Assembly, and on his arrival in London he published "An Answer to an anonymous libel entitled 'Articles exhibited against Lord A. Hamilton, late governor of Jamaica.'" This unsuccessful attempt to defend himself was deemed a false and scandalous libel on the colony:—his friends were silent, and his enemies charitable.

The commerce with the British plantations in the north was now interrupted by the expulsion of the settlers in the Bay of Campeachy: an oppressive measure which had been effected through the intrigues of the South-sea Company. The produce of Jamaica was, therefore, much depreciated, and its trade was expiring; while the frequent rebellious conspiracies of the negroes caused universal alarm and individual distress*. It compelled the legislature to augment the severity of the penal code; and to adopt the harsh, but precautionary, measures which long sullied its statute-books. The great body of laws yet wanted, however, the royal confirmation; and the administration of justice, thus rendered precarious, was entirely

A.D. 1717.

* See Note LXXV.

destructive of public confidence, and private right. Yet Governor Heywood, after the removal of Chief Justice Bernard, and some offensive members of the council, soon gained the esteem, and conciliated the affections, of all parties. When pride and faction were no more, the common misfortunes of the colony cemented a good understanding; and Sir Nicholas

1718. Aug. Lawes, who possessed large estates here, and had filled subordinate offices with repute, succeeded to its government under singular happy auspices. The extent of his property had already given him a leading influence in the country, and the virtues of private life rendered that influence honourable. But political enemies are rarely moved by feelings of generosity, or even gratitude; and all his judgment and moderation were ineffectual in smothering a flame which again burst forth between the two subordinate branches of the legislature. Lord Hamilton's unfortunate administration, and a gross libel which Wood, the clerk of the council, had published in his defence, were plenteous sources of political discord, and private animosity. An interchange of intemperate messages ended in the determination of each party to receive no more; the

Nov. 5. last was thrown from off the council table, and one of the board indignantly, or foolishly, trampled it beneath his feet. This was an insult which called for the instant interference of authority; and the Assembly was subjected to a

short prorogation. The suspension of the offensive member being, however, then denied, all intercourse ceased, and a dissolution speedily ensued.

The piratical cruisers took advantage of the known weakness of the island, and became so daring, that ships were frequently captured under the guns of Port Royal; while a specious alarm was spread that a Spanish force was now destined for its recapture. Martial law was therefore proclaimed, the fortifications were rendered defensible, and several ships were sent out to protect the expiring trade.

A.D. 1719. Yet all remained quiet; and the anniversary of the King's coronation offered the governor a seasonable opportunity for promoting the interests, by restoring the harmony, of the colony.

Oct. 20. He therefore assembled the legislature on that day; and, after an elaborate and admirable charge, well defining the duties and deficiencies of all parties, he concluded his opening speech with desiring the Assembly to go to the house of God together, and implore his blessing upon the present meeting: "Then," said he, "I desire you all to return with me, and accept of such a dinner as can be provided for you; and let us joyfully celebrate this our great Sovereign's coronation-day."

The defeat of the Scotch rebels, who had joined the invading Spanish force at Glensheil, occasioned one of those congratulatory addresses which adorn, or disgrace, the actions of our kings; and, had fortune smiled, the improvement of the colony might

have been the sole object of all parties. But, while its constitution was still in suspense, and the privileges of the legislature uncertain, or ill-defined, it was no uncommon occurrence for members of Assembly to be expelled collectively; and an instance now occurred of the expulsion of five, who had urged that the house had fallen, by the speaker remaining in the chair without a quorum—which, they conceived, exempted the absentees from the summons of the messenger. Its premature dissolution was the unhappy consequence; and the country was left in an extremity of distress by the want of a current medium, and the consequent loss of trade. Port Royal, which was capable of containing the navies of Europe, was scarcely vivified by a single sail; and the prospect everywhere was dark and doubtful.

A.D. 1720.

The extraordinary diminution of inhabitants, and the deficiency of agricultural strength, suggested the expedient of introducing three hundred families from Anguilla and the Virgin Isles, by offering encouragement to them in land, with a free passage, and supplies. The measure partially succeeded; and a few were settled in the eastern district. But the short war with Spain was more effective; for it so multiplied the sailors, that multitudes were soon wandering about the country in search of employment. Brown and Wynter, the notorious pirates, had now fitted out several vessels at Trinidad de Cuba, for the purpose of cap-

A.D. 1721.

turing the negroes on the sea-side plantations. The parish of Saint Ann suffered severely; for it was the richest, and the least protected, of any in the island. A domestic tragedy was acted there disgraceful to humanity, and scarcely equalled in the sanguinary annals of those times. The proprietor of a considerable settlement, who had fortified his house upon the beach, and had repeatedly repelled these lawless plunderers, one night, in the security of his success, and in the bosom of his family, was boasting that they would never venture to attack him more. The Picaroons had stolen across from Cuba, and were at the moment lying concealed in the brushwood round the house, waiting till the family had retired to rest. With savage inhumanity they listened to the domestic effusions of presumed security; they measured the provocation, and determined on revenge. When all was quiet within, they barricadoed the house from without, and applied fire to it in all directions. They heard, unmoved, the agonizing cries of the helpless parents, and their dying children; and, in the morning, nothing remained but the smoking ruins of the house, and the ashes of sixteen human beings. Deeds of atrocity scarce less appalling were of frequent occurrence on the north side of the island, and a sloop of war was therefore fitted out by subscription for its protection. These repeated acts of hostility were but feebly resented by the detention of such Spanish effects as were found in Jamaica: but to provide against a recurrence of them, a disposable

force was raised by a capitation levy; and one man, for every hundred negroes, was enrolled, accoutred, and trained. Thus an effective body of seven hundred men was maintained, and distributed along the coast, without inconvenience to themselves, or expense to the island.

New difficulties arose, and fresh wounds were opened, by a discussion upon the King's instruction, that Lord Hamilton should be reimbursed in the several sums which he had advanced for the subsistence of the troops. The Assembly stoutly opposed it; and Kelly, the attorney-general, with some other members, received the warm support of the Governor, but were violently expelled the House;—Kelly under the specious pretext of being a papist, and Brown, an assistant judge, for official injustice. The repeated and refractory absence of the remaining members, at length closed the sitting, and annulled the House. The Duke of Portland was hourly expected as Governor, and the call of another Assembly was delayed until the exigencies of the country could no longer dispense with it, and writs were issued *ad interim*. The interruptions lately given to the progress of public business had indeed involved the Government so much in debt, that its bills were at a discount of fifty per cent.; and even the expenses incident on the trial of some pirates could not be defrayed. The rebellious negroes also harassed the country, and appeared in such force, that it became necessary to

Nov.

A.D. 1722.

summon the aid of the Mosquito Indians. A party of them arrived, under the conduct of their king; but the want of money obstructed even that important service, and the expiration of the laws distracted and divided the attention of Government. The reigning dissensions opposed the enactment of a single bill; and the House, still persisting in the legitimate, or unjust persecution of the refractory attorney-general, was reluctantly dissolved by proclamation.

June.

The high office of attorney-general seems to have been an object of popular and peculiar jealousy. Either the individuals who successively filled, or the parties who constantly opposed it, must have been influenced by very unworthy motives. At the distance of a century it is unfair to judge harshly of either party; for it may be observed, that single acts of virtue and of vice can seldom be weighed against each other; but as it is possible, and barely possible, that truth and justice may be supported by means most adverse to their nature, we may be allowed to pause before we pronounce either Kelly guilty, or the Assembly oppressive. At a period of doubt and distraction, when the attorney-general was, I believe universally, a member of Assembly, he might be an object of suspicion, as a vigilant spy and a diligent reporter to the Governor, into whose most secret councils his office admitted him. He might have betrayed that trust, or he might have been a traitor to the Assembly. It was an office difficult, if not

impossible, to execute with satisfaction to both parties; and it was afterwards attached to the intermediate branch of the legislature, where it is independent of either, but connected with both. It is far more easy to fall below, than to rise above, the common level of morality; and although a few guilty days may perhaps be found in the annals of Jamaican jurisprudence, yet, in the general tenour of their conduct, the high offices of colonial justice have been filled by men virtuous, temperate, and skilful,—the friends of humanity and the protectors of the people.

A tremendous hurricane now added to the desolation of the island; injured the fortifications, and sunk many ships at Port Royal. It ruined so many properties, destroyed so many lives, and reduced the survivors to such distress, that although the Duke of Portland was hourly expected, Sir Nicholas Lawes was compelled to convene the Assembly, that some relief might be administered to the unfortunate sufferers. Yet so inadequate was the revenue to meet even the ordinary exigencies of the government, that this patriotic governor literally sold his house and lands to discharge the debts contracted by his official establishment.

Aug. 22.

Oct.

The disobedient members, who had now been re-elected, were ordered into custody, and again expelled. Two of them were immediately returned again by the parish of St. Dorothy; and, of these, the culpable, or ill-used, attorney-general was one:

it was therefore resolved that, for its contumacy, that parish should remain unrepresented. When pride or prejudice was thus removed, several useful Bills were passed; and one was introduced which had long been made the subject of dispute between the colony and the parent state. But before the important measure of "making the revenue of the island perpetual, ascertaining the rights and liberties of its subjects, and regulating the proceedings in the courts of justice," could be brought to maturity, a fatal endemic was the result of the late storm, and rendered a recess necessary. The House was therefore prorogued, and soon after met by the Duke of Portland; when its first decree doubled his salary,—making it five thousand pounds, "in deference to his Majesty's recommendation, and to his Grace's character."

Nov. 24.

Dec. 5.

1723. Jan.

Colonel Dubourgay accompanied the Duke as his lieutenant-governor, and a privy seal fixed his salary at one thousand pounds. This was the first appointment of a lieutenant-governor whose salary should commence during the residence of a governor-in-chief. It occasioned a warm debate, and a fixed resolve that the sum should be but once granted, to defray the expenses of his return in the ship which brought him. The bill perpetuating and augmenting the revenue, and for continuing the laws, was then harmoniously passed, and the House was prorogued. But the British ministry

Feb. 9.

objected to it in such a shape as made the English laws perpetual, as well as those of the colony; vague terms which, unless better defined, would create confusion, by leaving too much latitude to discretionary judgment. The additional provision made for the support of the government was also considered inadequate to the most frugal expenditure of it.

The transactions of this Assembly were, in fact, altogether disallowed, and his Grace's additional salary was, of course, lost with the Revenue Bill. It was revived, however, and passed in the succeeding session; but he nobly withheld his assent until he could receive instructions from London; and these not arriving as soon as expected, he resorted to the expedient of repeating the adjournments until it became necessary to renew the expiring laws. He then met the House; assented to their continuation for one year, and again prorogued it. During this session, Monk, another oppressive, or oppressed Attorney-general, was expelled for "an infringement of the liberties of the people." The King's visit to his continental dominions still delayed the arrival of the necessary instructions relative to the long pending Revenue Act, and another in continuation became necessary to keep the stream of justice current. The irregularities of the Marquis Duquesne, the commandant at Port Royal, called also for legislative interference, and occupied the attention of the Assembly until the

Nov. 1724.

Nov. 1725.

Sept.

governor found it necessary to prorogue it, in consequence of an extraordinary clause inserted in the Deficiency Bill, which clause repeated that Revenue Act which was then in suspense before the King.

A.D. 1726.

Unfortunately for Jamaica, the duke lived not long enough to be the happy instrument in perfecting the constitution of the colony over which he so ably presided. His administration, though short, turbulent, and distressing, was conducted with that political moderation, and easy dignity, which is calculated to subdue the most obstinate, and to conciliate the most hostile. He disguised the superior gifts of fortune, perhaps of nature, by the winning graces of modesty, and gentleness. Although his instructions were at variance with the sense of the country, he behaved with a just temperance of courage, and moderation; and by the urbanity of his manners, as well as the decision of his judgment, he contrived to keep the country quiet at a period when its distress might have inflamed disgust at the odious measures which he was compelled to adopt. The prolonged delay of his Majesty's command rendered it necessary for him to refuse his assent to the repeated acts of his Assembly; caused the long suspension of the laws *, and placed him in a most vexatious predicament; a situation from which all previous governors had found it impossible to extricate themselves without compromising their duty on the one hand, or offending the Assembly

* See Note LXXVI.

on the other. Yet he had his enemies: for the most gentle authority will sometimes frown without reason; the most cheerful submission will sometimes murmur without a cause. Still he contrived to conciliate; and, by keeping the same members of his government together, he preserved the influence he had justly acquired, at the same time that, by convenient prorogations, he maintained the important question in a state of easy suspense.

The grave of the Duke of Portland was honoured with the tears of all who knew him: and the government devolved upon John, Ayscough, the president of the council; a man little worthy of being his successor. Liberty, under the late salutary system, had raised the minds of the colonists; and faction, too often her ugly and inseparable sister, now eagerly took advantage of the lamentable change to corrupt again the peace of the island. The Assembly was continued in a session which was held by an order from his Majesty addressed to the deceased governor: for with the expected Instructions came a privy seal, and a draught of the long pending bill.

July.

Oct.

Before the House could proceed to business, however, a dispute arose upon the privilege of its members being sworn in under their own roof: for the unyielding President, in the pride of newly-acquired power, desired their attendance upon him for that purpose. The privilege, or the power, of the House, prevailed; and the business of the country seemed

likely to proceed, until the President's opening speech came under discussion. He had therein adverted to the draught of the Revenue Bill, which, with officious pomp, he declared the King "commanded" them to pass. It was unanimously resolved, that this wilful perversion of terms, in denominating that his Majesty's *command*, which was, in fact, only his gracious *recommendation*, was a gross and dangerous infringement of popular rights: and all further proceedings were staid, until satisfaction should be given. To avoid a storm which threatened to annihilate his little credit, the mortified President had recourse to repeated prorogations; and he at length reluctantly produced a letter from the secretary of state to the late Duke of Portland, which proved upon him that perversion of words with which he was charged. It explained, in fact, the nature of the proceeding in transmitting the offensive bill; and declared that it was not sent "as a law intended to be imposed upon the Assembly, but merely as a proposition." The President had thus forfeited the confidence of the country by his presumption, and passion rather than policy governed now all his actions. Although nothing could be more satisfactory than the explanation which had been given, yet his temper allowed him to take no advantage of a generous feeling, and the House rejected the proposed bill, resolved once more to try its own. By a majority of one, its commitment was carried on the second reading. The Pre-

1727. Jan. 10.

sident's words were ambiguous, or his action slow, and with tardy fear he staid its further progress by the strong* measure of a dissolution.

This Assembly had now existed five years, and the Revenue Bill had been the subject of a warm debate throughout its fourteen sessions. The distress of the country under the extraordinary effects of the late hurricane, the suspension of its laws, and the bankruptcy of its exchequer, at a time so pregnant with danger, that all Europe was in arms, caused the most reasonable consternation. Amidst

March. expiring agonies, an attempt was once more made to force upon it the obnoxious bill: but Jamaica still possessed strength enough to reject it; and it rested on the table of the House while one more satisfactory was discussed. The council then protected the provost-marshal against the warrant of the Speaker; and sixteen days of invective and intrigue were again terminated by a petulant dissolution.

Nor did any better success attend the next at-

May. tempt; when the same arguments and resolves were opposed to a repetition of the same solicitations and threats. The noisy claims of invaded privilege were again mutually revived: complaints, not more loud than just, were made of the interruptions given to public business by the perverse President; and the Assembly expired without another struggle.

* See Note LXXVII.

The zeal of President Ayscough was always unsuccessful, often unwarranted, and sometimes ridiculous. The vanity of his heart was flattered by the degree, rather than the extent, of his authority; and the short period of his administration was marked by acts of wanton violence and weak oppression. The colonists, his equals by nature, and many of them his superiors in merit, hailed his removal with the most galling expressions of universal joy, when Major-general Hunter arrived with the full power of a Governor. He had already made himself acquainted with the state of the colony; he had urged its distresses upon the attention of his Majesty's ministers, and he was listened to with confidence and effect. The House of Assembly recognised these his early services by instantly increasing his salary to six thousand pounds: and he fulfilled the last hopes of the country by reconciling it to the parent state. His predecessor was impeached for having "perverted justice while president and chancellor." Truth and honour required a minute investigation of the odious charge, and the President was overwhelmed with shame and disgrace.

The long-agitated Revenue Bill then passed rapidly through its different stages to maturity. It completed an arrangement which was pure and permanent; satisfactory to the interests of the crown, and no charge upon the resources of Jamaica. Articles of foreign growth or manufacture, with the quit-rents, fines, and forfeitures, which had already been relin-

quished, supplied the required fund of eight thousand pounds per annum. And the Act, beneficial, wise, and liberal in itself, procured for the colony not only the royal confirmation of all its laws, but, that cardinal declaration which is justly recognised as

THE MAGNA CHARTA OF JAMAICA.

"All such laws and statutes of England as have been at any time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted, or received as laws in this island, shall, and are hereby declared to be, and continue, laws of this his Majesty's Island of Jamaica for ever."

Thus trained to moderation in the school of adversity, Jamaica became a free and flourishing colony; a small, but happy, community, more wealthy and independent than those around her. She no longer felt, nor feared, the tyranny of political experiment; but owed her independence to her exertions, and her reputation to her patriotism. The seeds of freedom strike their roots deep into the genial soil which Englishmen inherit; and they have since risen almost to maturity through the most anomalous institutions of Jamaica. Let not unskilful hands attempt to force them, or, like her native aloe, which blooms not till the end of life, they too may blossom but to die.

END OF CHAPTER IX.

NOTES.

NOTES.

Note I.—p. 30.

In Jamaica, and the adjacent islands, the Spaniards destroyed, within less than twenty years, more than twelve hundred thousand of the native Indians. "I have seen them," says the benevolent Las Casas, "remplir les campagnes de fourches patibulaires: on which they hanged these unfortunates by thirteens, in honour of the thirteen apostles; I have beheld them throw the Indian infants to their dogs; I have seen five caciques burnt alive; I have heard the Spaniards borrow the limb of an human being to feed their dogs, and next day return a quarter to the lender."

Yet such are the atrocities which the Scotch historian so mildly terms "reprehensible."

Note II.—p. 38.

Hybanda, quondam insula Ioniæ, Plinii ævo, 200 à mari aberat; Ortygia, olim insula, ut Ibycus retulit, ex maris regressu terris adjuncta, peninsula facta est. Scholiastes Pindari, ἡ δὲ Ὀρτυγια πρότερον μὲν οὖσα νῆσος εἶτα προχωσθεῖσα Χερόννησος γέγονεν, ὡς καὶ Ἴβυκος ἱστορεῖ.—Ad *Nem. Od.* 1. See SHERRINGHAM *de Anglorum Gentis Origine Disceptatio*, p. 44.

Note III.—p. 39.

Seneca, l. 6. c. 21, *Nat. Quæst.*, mentions a convulsion which raised the island of Therasia, now called Santorin, from the depths of the Ægean Sea. And Strabo, l. 1. *Geograph.*, speaks of the same phenomenon:—"Inter Theram et Therasiam primo flammas è mari toto quatriduo quasi arderet mare, emicuisse: postea sensim emersisse insulam quandam patentem ad stadia duodecim, totam constantem ex lapidibus ignitis."—See JONSTON's *Thaumatographia.*

In the year 1707, another island made its appearance near to

the above, and the progress of its watery birth was observed minutely by one who records it in *Mémoires Géographiques*, 4 vols. 12mo, Paris, 1767.

Note IV.—p. 40.

Strabo refers the extraordinary elevations and depressions of the earth's surface to similar causes. "Nam diluvia, terræmotus, eruptiones flatuum, et tumores subitè terræ in mari latentes, mare quoque extollunt; subsidentesque in se eædem terræ faciunt ut mare dimittatur."

It has been attempted to invalidate the Mosaic history of the Deluge, by asserting that there are proofs of the waters never having reached the summits of the Alps and Cordilleras, because no shells or petrifactions are found there.

"Quod observationibus constet in apicibus celsissimorum montium nunquam reperiri petrifacta, et vel rarissime in fastigiis minus altorum. Extantes igitur illi montium apices totidem tunc temporis insulæ erant, variâ altitudine et latitudine, in summis aquis extensæ; quemadmodum hodièque, quotquot habentur insulæ aquis circumdatæ, non esse videntur nisi montes in fundo aquarum radicati, quorum culmina plus minus lata de maris superficie sese efferunt, ut solum habitabile exhibeant."—SEBA, *Thesaur. Rer. Nat.* tab. 106. p. 125. tom. iv. Ed. Amst. 1765.

But we knew that the waters covered the high mountains of Ararat, Caucasus, Taurus, &c. The elevation of Ararat is not determined; yet supposing it to be only a mile and a half in height, the sea all round the globe must have been as high; and therefore all that could have remained dry must have been the points of still higher mountains, scattered, at immense distances, like islands in the floods. But it is more agreeable to the character of the Deity, that, when he found it necessary to extirpate an iniquitous race, he should have destroyed it at once, rather than have left insulated spots of earth for them to collect upon, to be there beaten by the descending torrents, and die with cold and hunger. The same power which produced the Deluge, could render it complete. Besides, the tops of the highest mountains, which are, in fact, the exposed granite extremities of the earth's skeleton, peeping through alluvial matter, would naturally be so washed by the mighty surge, when the Deluge covered them in its utmost height and fury, that nothing could rest upon such a surface. The shells and other organic remains

would be washed down, and deposited in the lower regions, as the storm, and tempest, and waters, subsided, and as, in fact, they are found. " Testacei e i pesci impietriti sono le medaglie del diluvio," says the Italian, with much elegance.

Note V.—p. 48.

Vatable, in his " Annotations on the Ninth Chapter of the Third Book of Kings," supposes that the island of Cuba is that Ophir from whence Solomon derived his golden treasures. Others conceive it to have been a port in Peru. Acosta suggests, with some degree of probability, that the Tharsis and Ophir of the Scriptures, mean no particular places, but are expressions vaguely used, as we have used the word Indies to signify distant regions bearing the reputation of being rich, and strange.

Gurtlerus cites the opinions of others, but leaves the question to the judgment of his readers. " Joktanis filius Ophir procreavit Indos : quare Bocharto Ophir est Sumatra, vel Zeilana in insula Taprobana ; tamen ipsimet in Jobo felicis Arabiæ pars. Huetus contendit Ophiram esse oram Africæ orientalem, Tharsin Africæ et Hispaniæ oram occidentalem."—*Lib. de Nav. Salom.* " Paulus quoque Merula, post Beroaldum et Ortelium, putat Ophir esse Africæ regionem, Zaffalam vel Cephalam hodie dictam, valde auriferam."—*Cosmog.* p. 1. l. 3. c. 14. *Origines Mundi*, p. 26.

In very early ages the science of marine architecture was in a state of great perfection ; for the ship of King Hiero, built by Archimedes, is said to have had eight towers, and numerous rooms paved with precious stones ; in it were also eight stables, with fish-ponds and gardens. Under the reign of the fourth Ptolemy, vessels were built three hundred and seventy-three feet in length, and sixty-four feet high at the stern, to navigate which four thousand rowers occupied forty benches, besides four hundred sailors, and two thousand fighting men. Theocritus affirms, that the Egyptians maintained a formidable fleet to protect their commerce upon the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, and kept afloat four thousand vessels to bear orders throughout the empire. Commerce, which there first exhibited herself, moved gradually westward, visiting the Nile, the Phenician shores, Attica, Carthage, Rome, Venice, Genoa, and Cadiz. There she displayed her treasures during a century. She resided, with considerable

dignity, amongst the Dutch, but she has taken up her favourite and lasting abode in the British isles.

What Gray has said of the "sad Nile," and Johnson thinks more desirable than true, is historically and indisputably applicable to commerce.

> Alike she scorns the pomp of tyrant power,
> And coward vice, that revels in her chains.

Note VI.—p. 54.

Albertus Maximus has this curious passage upon the subject of the ancient usage of the mariner's compass: "Adhuc autem Aristoteles, in lib. de lapidibus, dicit: Angulus magnetis cujusdam est, cujus virtus apprehendendi ferrum est ad zoron, hoc est, septentrionalem: *et hoc utuntur nautæ*: angulus vero alius magnetis illi oppositus trahit ad aphron, id est, polum meridionalem: et si approximes ferrum versus angulum zoron, convertit se ferrum ad zoron: et si ad oppositum angulum approximes, convertit se directè ad aphron."—Alb. Max. *de Metellis*, lib. 1. tract. 3. c. 6.

Acosta asserts that Vasco de Gama found, amongst the natives of Mozambiquë, some knowledge of the mariner's compass.

Note VII.—p. 55.

Procopius, the secretary of Belisarius, during the reign of Justinian, mentions, in his *Vandalicâ*, l. 2. that there were in his time standing in Africa Tingitana (Tangiers,) two columns, erected by the Canaanites who had fled from Joshua, the son of Nun. Eusebius says, that the Canaanites, who were expelled by the Israelites, conducted colonies to Tripoli in Africa, and navigated the western ocean.—Bochart, *in Canaan.* cap. 24 et 36.

Note VIII.—p. 58.

"In quo res gerente C. Cæsare Augusti filio signa navium ex Hispaniensibus naufragis feruntur agnita."—Lib. 2. cap. 67.

Note IX.—p. 61.

The accounts of the English navy are but few, until the reign of Henry VIII., that is, six hundred and fifty years after the record of William of Malmesbury, but during this time it can hardly be supposed that it was idle or unimproved. Indeed, it

was in the interval that the office of admiral was established by Edward I. Fitzallan was appointed admiral of England by Richard II., and Spelman has given us a list of admirals from the time of Henry III.; whence we may infer that our princes possessed ships of their own, besides the occasional ones furnished by the Cinque Ports, &c. The first instance, and it is a curious one, as it mentions cannon employed, occurs in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. viii. p. 447. It is an order to Henry Somer, keeper of the private wardrobe in the Tower, to deliver to Master Loveney, treasurer of Philippa, Queen of Sweden, who was then sent by her uncle, Henry IV., to her husband, in the ship called "the Queen's Hall, eleven guns, forty-four pounds of powder, four touches, two fire-pans, forty pavys, twenty-four bows, and forty sheaves of arrows, pro stuffura ejusdem navis, ordinata pro aula Reginæ."

There are documents which prove that seamen were impressed as early as the year 1481; and thirty years afterwards the king of Scotland "buildit a great schipe, called the Micheall, quhilk was ane verrie monstruous great schip; for this schip tuick so meikle timber, that schoe wasted all the woodis in Fyfe, except Falkland Wood, by the timber that cam out of Norway. For many of the schipwrightis wrought at hir, and wrightis of other countries had their devyse at hir; and all wrought bussilie the space of ane yeir at hir. This schipe was twelff scoir footis lenth, threttie-sax foot within the wallis; schoe was ten foot thick within the wallis of cutted risles of oak, so that no cannon could doe at hir; shoe cumbred all Scotland to get hir to the sea, and when shoe was committed to the sea, and under saill, she was counted to the king to fourtie thousand pund of expenses, by her ordouris and canones quhilkis schoe bair. Schoe had thrie hundred mariners to govern hir; six scoir gunners to use hir artaillarie; and ane thousand men of war, by captanes, skipperis, and quarter-maisteris. Quhen this schip passt to the sea, and was lying in the road, the king caused shott ane cannon at hir, to essay hir if shoe was wight; but the cannon deired hir not. And if any man believes that this schip was not as we have showin, latt him pass to the place of Tullibardyne, quhar he will find the breadth and lenth of hir sett with hawthorne; as for my author was Captane Andro Wood, principal captane of hir, and Robert Bartane, who was master skipper. This schip lay still in the road, and the king tuick great pleasure every day to cum

down and sie hir, and would dyne and sup in hir sundrie tymes, and he showing his lordis hir ordour and munitioun."—LINDSAY'S *Chronicles of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 256.

Dr. Plott, who wrote on the discovery of America, says, in page 116, "I find in the British Annals, that Prince Madoc ap Owen Gwynnedd, that is, son of Owen Gwynnedd, whose father Griffith ap Conan did homage for certain lands in England to William the Conqueror, being tired with the civil wars which happened amongst his brethren Jorwerth, Howel, and David, each of them claiming a dividend of their father's dominions by the custom of gavelkind, and perceiving, at the same time, their new neighbours the Normans ready to swallow them up, and that his advice and propositions of peace were not hearkened unto, but that rather for these good offices he made himself the object of their fury, therefore studying his own preservation, and seeing no part of his native country likely to afford him any quiet, he resolved to haste abroad to some remote part of the world, where he might acquire future happiness. In order whereunto he prepared for a sea voyage, and in the year 1170, the sixteenth of Henry II., he set off from Wales, with so prosperous a gale that, after some weeks sail due west, he descried land, where, upon his arrival, he found store of good victuals, sweet water, fresh and healthful air."

Here, then, about Canada or Florida, Madoc perhaps settled, and here the descendants of his little colony probably remained, deprived of the means of informing their European friends of their success, until Columbus, the first of modern navigators who returned from America, introduced that knowledge which has led to their recognition, although they had themselves lost all record of their removal, or tradition of their eastern origin.

Herbert, I. 3, asserts, that the Spaniards found some traces of this story on their arrival in America; there yet remaining amongst the Mexicans a tradition that, about the time of Madoc's supposed emigration, a strange people actually came thither in "curraugh," or ships, as Columbus and Gomera testify; and who imparted to them some knowledge of God, with the religious use of beads and crucifixes, which articles of Papal worship were in fact found amongst them.

Sir Charles Giesecke, who spent eight years in Greenland, has put it beyond all doubt that a part of the east coast of West Greenland was formerly colonised by Norwegians from Iceland.

Note X.—p. 61.

The narrative here mentioned, together with a Latin translation, is, I find, inserted in the Saxon original, in the Appendix to Sir John Spelman's Life of Alfred, published by Walker. Much information upon the same subject may also be gathered from the work of Asser of Saint Davids, a learned Briton, who was one of King Alfred's intimate friends, and wrote the memoirs of his reign, the last edition of which venerable record was, I believe, printed at Oxford, in 1722.

In the year 1741, there appeared in London a tract entitled *The Right of the Crown of Great Britain more ancient than that of Spain*, in which an attempt was made to prove that, three centuries previous to the discoveries of Columbus, the British were established in the New World; but the argument was founded merely upon the authority of a letter of Sir Morgan Jones to Thomas Lloyd of Pensylvania, through whose means Dr. Plott had also gained his information.

Note XI.—p. 62.

" Quelques momens après, les Espagnols virent paroître deux corps nombreux d'hommes armés comme ceux de Cotoche : et il sortit d'un temple environ dix prêtres vêtus de mantes blanches, fort larges, et portant à la main des vases de terre pleins de feu. Ils y jettoient de la gomme copale, en faisant aller la fumée du côté des Espagnols, et prononçoient diverses paroles." This appears to have been a ceremony of religious purification : as much as to say to the invading Spaniards, if you do not take yourselves off, your blood be upon your own heads. Accordingly, finding that the intruders did not take the hint, they attacked, and compelled them to quit their shores.

Most of the Indian tribes of America possessed also some obscure tradition of an universal Deluge. " Les anciennes histoires des Mexicains rapportent," says Carreri, " quelques circonstances d'un Déluge qui fit périr tous les hommes, et les animaux, à l'exception d'un homme et d'une femme, qui se sauvèrent dans une de ces barques qu'ils nomment *Acalles*. L'homme, suivant le caractère qui exprime son nom, s'appelloit *Coxcox ;* et la femme *Chichequetzal*. Cet heureux couple arriva au pied de la montagne de Culhuacan, une de celles qui environnent la vallée du lac. Il y mit au monde un grand nombre d'enfans, qui naquirent tous muets, et qui reçurent un jour la

faculté de parler, d'une Colombe, qui vint se percher sur un arbre fort haut. Mais l'un n'entendant point le langage de l'autre, ils prirent le parti de se séparer."—*Hist. Gén. des Voyages*, vol. xviii. p. 542.

Note XII.—p. 68.

Mancipia ibi nigra repererunt ex regione distante à Quarequa dierum spatio tantum duorum quæ solos gignit nigritas, et eos feroces, atque admodum truces.—*Decad.* 3. cap. 1.

Note XIII.—p. 69.

The population of the vast empires of Mexico and Peru has undoubtedly been exaggerated by the early Spanish historians, who proudly amplified their discoveries by painting all their objects in enlarged proportions. Their ostentations, on such an occasion, may be pardonable, but we may be allowed to criticise their calculations. Three years after the conquest of Mexico, we find that the Castilians were obliged to import a population to that kingdom, first from Jamaica and the adjacent islands, and, when these stores were exhausted, from the distant regions of Africa. If it had contained, as we are told, thirty millions of inhabitants in the year 1518, how came it to be depopulated in 1521? It would be absurd to suppose that Cortez, accompanied only by four or five hundred assassins, could, in the lapse of three years, have glutted his bloodthirsty spirit by the extirpation of such an overwhelming multitude.

It has indeed been said, that half a million of the native assistants in his conquests perished in the contests, and found no other grave than the stomachs of their foes. But even this I suspect to be an exaggeration: for the Indians were not canibals any more than the French revolutionists, who satiated their revenge by the most barbarous excesses, amounting almost to canibalism. In a tumult excited by superstition, the Egyptians devoured the flesh of one of their fallen enemies. From this horrid action it is not fair to conclude that the Egyptians were canibals, or equalled in barbarity the Cyclops and the Lestrigons. The French treated with equal brutality Maréchal d'Ancre; and the Dutch, Pensionary de Witt. The fixed and permanent character of a people ought never to be inferred from moments of madness and fury.

Note XIV.—p. 70.

Gage, in his *Survey of the West Indies*, observes, that "the Indians of America in many things seem to be of the race and progeny of the Tartars in Quivira; and all the west side of the country, towards Asia, is far more populous than the east, towards Europe, which sheweth these parts to have been first inhabited. Secondly, their incivility, and barbarous properties, tell us that they are most like the Tartars of any. Thirdly, the west side of America, if it be not continent with Tartary, is yet disjoined by a small strait. Fourthly, the people of Quivira, nearest to Tartary, are said to follow the season in pasturing of cattle, like the Tartars."

The Indians invariably carried their women with them in all their marine excursions; and the rapidity of their increase upon any spot where design or chance planted them, can thus be easily accounted for, though scarcely computed.

The narrative of Bagniouski, the famous adventurer, who escaped from his exile at Kamschatka, is interesting, and his veracity, I believe, may be safely trusted. He returned into Europe by Japan and China, though his original design was to penetrate through the North-East passage. He actually followed the coast of Asia as high as the latitude of 67° 35′, till his progress was stopped by the ice, in a strait between two continents, which was only seven leagues broad. Thence he descended along the coast of America, as low as Cape Mendocin, but was repulsed by contrary winds in his attempts to reach the port of Acapulco. The journal of his voyage, with his original charts, is now at Versailles, in the Dépôt des Affaires Etrangères.

The Chickasaws declared, that they came from the setting sun, and spent seven years in their journey, marching only one moon in each year.

The Esquimaux Indians, confined to regions of eternal snow, were acquainted, at the time of their discovery, with the principles and construction, not simply of the arch, but of the dome, the most difficult of arches.—FRANKLIN'S *Journey to the Polar Sea*, p. 265.

Note XV.—p. 81.

Baptiste Porte says, that the Indians used a composition, whose peculiar properties enabled them to endure hunger and thirst for a great length of time. "Utuntur et alia compositione Occidentales Indi, ad famem et sitim tolerandum; ex tobaco, herba vocata, quippe ex ejus succo, et cochlearum cinere, pilulas componunt, et in umbra exiccant, et in itineribus trium, vel quatuor, dierum spatio unam inter inferius labrum et dentes locant, continuoque sugunt, et suctum glutiunt; six toto illo dierum spatio, nec famem, nec sitim, aut lassitudinem sentiunt." —*Magia Naturalis*, p. 215, edit. Rotterdam, 1650.

Note XVI.—p. 89.

Cheemeens, La Borde tells us, was also the Charaibean name for the "Master-spirit of Good," another coincidence of expression which seems to prove some affinity between the tribes. One of these Zemez is now in my possession; it is about seven inches in height, composed of a mixture of earth and pulverized stone, baked to the hardness and consistency of granite, and representing the rude features of an human being, a flattened head with double knobs on each side representing ears, and fixed upon a conical base.

Note XVII.—p. 99.

De Laet, in his *History of the Origin of the Americans*, p. 178, mentions the prevalent persuasion of a God, "Qui omnia creavit, dein plures in terram defixerat sagittas, è quibus hominum genus ortum, et propagatum, fuit;" though they also believed in other inferior divinities. And, in p. 106, he says,— "Alii narrant è quadem specu per fenestram exiliisse sex, aut nescio quot homines; eosque initium dedisse humano generi in loco qui ob eam causam dicitur *Pacari tampo;* atque ideo opinantur *Tambes* esse hominum antiquissimos."—*Acosta*, l. 1, c. 25.

Note XVIII.—p. 100.

The vegetable Hippomanes of Brown. Its native soil is the island of Porto Rico, and it is but rarely found in the other islands. The Indians, when they would cut this tree, covered their faces, and used the same precautions which the Africans do when they extract the liquid gum from the Euphorbier. An

arrow dipt in the sap of the Mancinelle has been found possessed of its deadly qualities, at the expiration of an hundred years.—See *Recherches Phil. de M. de Pauw*, tom. ii. p. 271.

A similar account is given of a tree in the island of Java, called the Upas, and of another in Macassar, mentioned by Gumilla.—*Hist. Oronoque*, tom. iii. p. 16. Marcel speaks of "flêches empoisonnées avec de l'*if*, dont il croît beaucoup en Gaule, pour rendre le gibier plus tendre, et plus délicat, retranchant les parties que le fer avoit touchées."—*Hist. de la Monarch. Fran.* tom. i. p. 60.

Pliny calls the same tree *Limæum*, lib. 27. c. 11.

We are also told of a composition, prepared by the natives of the Antilles and the adjacent Main, loaded with such deadly virtues, that the animal system would instantly shrink under its effects, if it but pierced the skin. Nature has infused into the cells of some vegetables a venom even more fatal than that of the most virulent serpent. The poison which some of the continental tribes of America applied to their arms was, according to Ramusio, taken from a serpent which, when irritated, vomits a noxious liquor, and if the point of an arrow were stained with it, the wound inflicted by that weapon would be mortal. By whatever means these venemous ingredients were compounded or procured, there is no doubt that their effects were violent and fatal. Tavernier says, that the Charaibes, by concentrating the poison more or less, could cause death to ensue at any stated time.

The first European who attempted to collect gold in America, the Count de Fogeda, is recorded to have been killed by a poisoned arrow. The use of such arms is of high antiquity; they were common in the time of Alexander.—JUSTIN, lib. 12; and Virgil celebrates Amycus for the art. It was an art early transplanted from the Old World to what we call the New. But, it may be observed, that here, as everywhere else, the use of poisoned arrows was chiefly confined to the chase, and introduced in battle upon emergencies only.—See CONDAMINE'S *Voyage*, p. 206, and BANCROFT'S *Hist. of Guiana*, p. 306.

There is, however, one celebrated instance on record, where the Americans used these arms with great success; and it is related in the *Viaggi da Ramusio*, t. iii. p. 24. Vasco Numez, with three hundred men, attacked a party of Indians, who immediately faced, discharged a flight of arrows, and killed nearly

one half. The real advantage derived from the use of poisoned arrows in war seems nevertheless so trivial, that we may doubt whether victory was ever much aided by the effects of them; for although Cortez and many other warriors have been exposed to those doubly-armed instruments of death, we do not find that they ever attested the double efficacy of them.

The Indians whom Alexander encountered in the states of Porus, and who shot poisoned arrows, annoyed him, but staid not the overwhelming progress of his conquests. Nor do we observe that this invention has, in any case, either stopped invasion or assisted conquest. The Americans seldom did superior execution by their means, and the Charaibes, in spite of their assistance, were expelled from the continent, and driven to the isles. The inhabitants of the Moluccas were never able, either with their poisoned stilettos, or their envenomed arrows, to free themselves from the dominion of the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and the Dutch. The Sardians and the Moors, so famous in history for the poison of their arms, became slaves to the Roman empire. It is said, indeed, that Hannibal vanquished the inhabitants of Pergamum by means of vipers; that Amilcar defied the Libyans with the leaves of the mandragore; and that the town of Bertha was taken by an opiate. But these stratagems, even if they really were effective, were very different in their operations from poisoned weapons. The Romans, probably, were acquainted with specifics against the effects of such barbarous arms; for although those antidotes, mentioned by Pliny the naturalist, were certainly without any efficacy, yet, from a passage in the works of Celsus, it is evident that they were acquainted with one mode of arresting the progress of the poison, by sucking the wound.

The natives of the East and of America, who were in the habit of poisoning their arrows, employed them chiefly in hunting wild beasts, But it was an arrow of a very different construction from that shot from a bow. It was merely a stick of hard wood, poisoned at the tip, and so light as to be blown through a tube, as boys blow peas.

The incidental uses to which these native arms, the bow and arrow, have ever been applied in all parts of the world, as divination, conveying fire, communicating intelligence, &c., are curious subjects of inquiry; and it may not be uninteresting to trace briefly the use of the bow in Britain.

From a passage in Stow, we find that Richard II. had a very numerous guard of archers; for in the year 1397, as one day the members were leaving the parliament-house, "a great stir was made, as was usual; whereupon the king's archers, in number four thousand, compassed the parliament-house, thinking there had been some broil," &c.—Stow, p. 316.

Another memorable circumstance relative to the bow, was the victory gained over the Scots, near Halidowne-hill, in the year 1402, "where the Lord Percies' archers did withal deliver their deadly arrows so lively, so courageously, so grievously, that they ran through the men of arms, bored the helmets, pierced their very swords, and beat their lances to the earth."

So Lucan in his *Pharsalia*, lib. iii.:

> Haud unum contenta latus transire, quiescet:
> Sed pandens perque arma viam, perque ossa, relicta
> Morte, fugit: superest telo post vulnera cursus.

The victory of Agincourt was ascribed to the English archers, but seems to be the last very important action in which archery is much spoken of. It afterwards became a fashionable amusement in the time of Henry VIII. Edward VI. was very fond of it, and Charles I. is represented, in the frontispiece of MARKHAM's *Art of Archery*, 1634, in the attitude and dress of a bowman.

The exact time when the bow became disused by the English in war, cannot be fixed. P. Daniel says, that arrows were sho by them at the Isle of Rhé, in 1627; and Grose affirms that, in 1643, the Earl of Essex issued a precept "for stirring up all well affected people by benevolence, towards raising a company of archers for the service of the king and the parliament." The Artillery Company, or Finsbury Archers, established, I believe, during the reign of Charles II., have survived even to the present time; and several other companies have since been formed, as the Woodmen of Arden, Hainhault Foresters, &c.

The rude construction of the bow, in the early stages of its use, was from the rough and unformed boughs of trees, from reeds, cane, or horn, &c. The Ethiopians drew their bow with the assistance of their feet. This fact is recorded by Diodorus Siculus, lib. iii. and Strabo. The latter informs us of a curious expedient of this pedestrial archery in hunting elephants. They employed three persons, two to support the bow, by pressing their feet against it, while a third was engaged in drawing the string

and directing the arrow. Strabo, *Arab.* lib. xvi. p. 772, and Pliny, lib. viii. chap. 8. Arrian reports that the Indians shot their bows with the assistance of the left foot; and Xenophon, speaking of the Carducians, says, they had bows three cubits long, and arrows two cubits. The Arabians also used their large bows in a similar manner—τῳ ποδι αντιβαντες, as Arrian expresses it. The ancient bow-strings were formed from hides —νευρα βοεια is the expression used by Homer.—*Il.* iv. l. 122.

Note XIX.—p. 103.

Benzo describes a native woman whom he saw in 1541: "Sed dum nos aliquot in Cumana moramur dies, eò venit Indica mulier præcipui ejus provinciæ reguli uxor, quasillum patriis fructibus plenum ferens: cæterum eo oris corporisque habitu ut tam deformem, ac prodigiosam speciem, neque ante, neque post, eam diem vidisse me unquam meminerim: neque tum rei novæ miraculo stupefactus eam intuendo explere oculos possem. Illa ut venit, ad Erreram præfectum ingressa, posito ei ante pedes quod attulerat munere, tacita in scamno assedit, tali habitu ac specie: primùm prorsus nuda exceptis pudendis, quæ velare ejus provinciæ consuetudo fert: vetula, virgata toto corpore ac depicta nigro, promissis ad pubem capillis: præterea auriculis infimis adeo productis demissisque ut in humeros usque penderent (fœdum visu spectaculum) deinde per medium fissis, ac foraminibus insertos anellos gerens, levissimos, è ligno quodam elaborato, quod eorum lingua Cacoma dicitur. Ungues ei præter modum longi; atri dentes; os patulum; nares perforatæ inserto annulo quem ipsi Caricori appellant: ita ut monstri cujusdam potius quàm humanam speciem haberet."—p. 5.

Note XX.—p. 113.

From a manuscript collection of marine charts, drawn in 1436, and lately discovered in Saint Mark's library, and a manuscript account of the voyages of Marin. Sanudo, a celebrated Venetian navigator, who lived at the close of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, it would appear, that not only the seas of Africa and the East Indies were known to the Venetians long before the voyages of the Portuguese, but that even the Antilles, Hudson's-Bay, and Newfoundland, were discovered, and frequented by their sailors, a century before the voyage of Columbus. Such a revolution as might thus be produced in the annals of discovery, requires a better foundation.

Note XXI.—p. 113.

Benzo, who was his contemporary and friend, gives only this brief genealogy of Christopher Columbus: "Ortus est Almirans Columbus Cucureo Genuensis civitatis municipio; majores ejus oriundi Placentia erant Liguriæ urbe, nobili stirpe Pilistrellorum: ipse prima jüventa navicularium artem exercuit."—p. 62.

Note XXII.—page 116.

The following lines confirm the fact of Bartholomew Columbus's early visit to the English court. They were written by him upon the chart of the world which he presented to Henry VII.:

Janua cui Patriæ est nomen, cui Bartholomæus
Columbus de Terra-rubra, opus edidit istud
Londoniis, anno Domini 1480, atque insuper anno
Octavo, decimaque die, cum tertiæ mensis
Februarii.—Laudes Christo cantentur abunde.

"Terra-rubra" seems to have been a surname, or title, taken by the brothers before the expedition, and has been adduced as a proof of the nobility of their extraction.

A copy of the letter which Christopher Columbus wrote to the Spanish monarch from Seville, after his return from his first voyage, announcing the discovery of America, was lately sold by Evans, in London, for thirty-four guineas. It consists of only three leaves.

Note XXIII.—p. 119.

Herrera has recorded the objections of the Spanish philosophers to the feasibility of Columbus's proposals—a curious instance of the prejudice and ignorance of the age:—

"Les uns disoient que puisqu' en tant d'années depuis la création du monde, tant de grands hommes, qui avoient connu la navigation, avoient ignoré les terres que Colomb prétendoit trouver, il n'étoit pas vraisemblable qu'il fût plus éclairé qu' eux. D'autres, tirant leurs raisons de la cosmographie, assuroient que le monde étoit d'une si grande étendue que trois ans ne suffisoient pas pour aller à l'extrémité de l'Orient, où Colomb flattoit de pouvoir arriver. Ils alléguoient Senèque, qui avoit mis en question si le monde n'étoit pas infini; et qui avoit douté, du moins, qu'on pût aller au-delà de certaines bornes. Ils ajoutoient que la terre occupoit la moindre partie du globe, et que

tout le reste étoit en mer; que pour aller à l'occident, suivant le dessein de Colomb, il falloit toujours descendre, à cause de la rondeur de la sphère; que par conséquent il seroit impossible de retourner, et qu'on se trouveroit dans le cas de remonter comme une espèce de montagne, ce qui choquoit absolument la raison, quelque fond qu'on pût faire sur les vents, et sur l'habileté du pilote."

Thus argued the sages of Spain in the year 1489.

Note XXIV.—p. 121.

The grant and letters-patent are extant, the former stipulating—

"1°. Que leurs Majestés Catholiques comme Seigneurs des Mers Occidentales, créent, dès à présent, et pour toujours, Christophe Colomb leur amiral dans toutes les îles et terres fermes qu'il découvrira, et qu'il prendra dans les mers, pour jouir de cette dignité pendant sa vie, et la faire passer, après sa mort, à ses héritiers et successeurs, de l'un à l'autre perpétuellement, avec toutes les pré-éminences, et prérogatives, dont Alfonse Enriquez, Amirante de Castille, jouissoit dans la sienne.

2°. Que leurs Majestés créent C. Colomb leur Viceroi et Gouverneur-général dans tous les mêmes lieux, et que, pour les gouvernemens particuliers, il fera choix de trois sujets, entre lesquels leurs Majestés se réservent le droit de nommer.

3°. Que sur toutes les marchandises de quelque nature qu'elles soient, perles, pierres précieuses, or, argent, épiceries, et autres, qui seront apportées des limites de la nouvelle amirauté, l'amiral aura un dixième, après le remboursement des fraix, et que les neuf autres parties seront pour leurs Majestés.

4°. Que tous les procès, et différends, qui pourroient naître au sujet des marchandises, et du commerce, dans l'étendue de la jurisdiction de l'amiral, seront soumis à sa décision, ou à celle de ses lieutenans en son nom, comme il se pratiquoit à l'égard de l'amirauté de Castille.

5°. Que dans tous les navires qui seront armés pour le voyage, et toutes les fois qu'on en armera d'autres pour le même objet, l'amiral pourra contribuer d'un huitième à tous les fraix de l'armement, et recevra aussi la huitième partie du profit."—Herrera, liv. i. c. 9.

The grant was executed on the 17th of April, 1492, and these letters-patent a fortnight afterwards,

" Fernand et Isabelle, par la grace de Dieu, Roi et Reine de Castille, de Léon, d'Arragon, de Sicile, de Grenade, de Tolède, de Valence, de Galice, de Majorque, de Cordoue, de Corfe, de Murcie, de Jaën, des Algarves, de Gibraltar, et des îles Canaries, Comte et Comtesse de Barcelone, Seigneurs de Biscaye, d'Oristan, de Gociado, &c. Puisque vous, C. Colomb, alliez, par notre commandement, et avec nos vaisseaux, et nos gens, à la conquête des îles de l'océan, que vous avez découvertes, et comme nous espérons qu'avec l'aide de Dieu, vous en découvrirez d'autres, il est juste que nous vous recompensions des services que vous rendrez à notre état," &c.—*Vie de Colomb*, liv. i. cap. 43.

It continues to enumerate all the rights, privileges, and titles which should be conferred, and remains a monument of princely promise, broken faith, and base ingratitude.

Note XXV.—p. 128.

By a treaty between the crown of Spain and Portugal, this line of demarcation was afterwards removed three hundred and seventy leagues further to the west: " Et les Portugais," says Oviedo, " en concluent que tout le Levant leur demeure; en quoi ils se trompent; parceque les Moluques, et toutes les îles où l'on prend la canelle, et l'épicerie, et le reste du monde, retournant par l'orient jusqu'à la première ligne du diamètre, sont comprises dans la première donation faite à la couronne de Castille."—c. 8.

Note XXVI.—p. 134.

The dates of Columbus's four voyages were as follows:—

	Sailed	*from*	*Made land*	*at*
1.	3d August, 1492	Palos	10th Oct. 1492,	San Salvador.
2.	25th Sept. 1493	Cadiz	3d Nov. 1493,	Dominique.
3.	30th May, 1498	Cadiz	31st July, 1498,	Trinidad.
4.	9th May, 1502	Cadiz	13th June, 1502,	Martinique.

Note XXVII.—p. 136.

Herrera has preserved the following characteristic traits of this intrepid mariner. " Christophe Colomb entendoit parfaitement l'astronomie, et l'art de la navigation. Il savait le Latin, et faisoit des vers. Il étoit si bon Chrétien qu'il commençoit tous ses discours, et toutes ses actions, par l'invocation de la

Sainte Trinité. A la tête de toutes ses lettres il mettoit ces mots Latins, 'Jesus, Crux, Maria, sint nobis in via.' Son serment étoit quelquefois 'Juro a Fernando;' et lorsqu'il vouloit assurer quelque chose dans les lettres, même qu'il écrivoit au Roi, il disoit, 'Hago juramento que es verdad esto.' Une autre de ses expressions familières, soit dans la gayeté, soit en colère, et lorsqu'il réprimandoit quelqu'un, c'étoit, 'Dobos à dias, no os parue esto, y esto.' Il observoit régulièrement les jeûnes de l'Eglise. Il approchoit souvent des sacremens. Il récitoit, chaque jour, les Heures Canonielles. Il étoit grand ennemi des juremens, et des blasphêmes. Il étoit fort dévot à la Vierge, et à Saint François. Lorsqu'on lui portoit de l'or, ou quelque chose de prix, dans son cabinet, il s'agenouilloit sur son oratoire, pour rendre graces à Dieu de ce qu'il lui avoit fait découvrir tant de biens. Avec un grand zèle pour le service de Dieu, et la propagation de l'évangile, il désiroit particulièrement que Dieu le rendît digne d'aider à l'acquisition du Saint Sépulcre: et souvent il supplioit la reine de s'engager par vœu à faire usage des richesses, qu'il se promettoit de faire entrer en Espagne, pour acquérir la possession de la Terre-Sainte."—*Liv.* 6. c. 15.

Columbus died in the firm belief that America was the eastern boundary of Asia, and thence arose the common title of INDIA.

An original portrait of him has lately been presented to the United States to adorn the Capitol at Washington. It was procured from the prior of the Cartuja, when that institution suffered; and it is identified as the production of the same master who painted the full-length picture which is still in Seville.

Note XXVIII.—p. 137.

Oviedo says that the young women who accompanied the Vicereine were immediately married to the principal characters in the colony; for that most of the Castilians had shunned the Créole natives "à cause de leur incapacité, et de leur laideur." He is contradicted by the historian of St. Domingo, who indignantly asserts that the order of Ovando, for the purpose of compelling marriages with the islanders, was generally and joyfully obeyed.

Note XXIX.—p. 138.

Anno 1545, quum in continenti essem, auditum est Cimaronos (sic ab Hispanis alienigenæ illic vocantur) universos sumtis armis excitos rebellâsse. Itaque Lodovicus Colombus, almirans, et præsides, adsessorque Dominicæ, legatos ultro ad eos miserunt, oratum, ac supplicatum, ut pacificè vivere vellent.—Benzo, lib. 2. c. 1.

Note XXX.—p. 139.

Niquesa primus infeliciter eam tentavit, de quo lib. 1. Philippus Guftierez Madriciencis, quum eam provinciam cum quadringentis amplius militibus inisset, anno 1536; omnes, partim fame, partim venenatis herbarum succis, consumtos amisit. In quibus ægri, et semiviri duo à sociis, fame in rabiem versis, mactati et comesti sunt. Anno 1546, C. Pega a Lod. Colombo, almirante, ad deducendas colonias eòdem missus, nihilo mitiorem exitum habuit. Itaque Hispani eam provinciam ut infaustam et indomitam reliquere.—Gomar. *Hist. Gen.* l. 2. c. 56.

It was an empty title, therefore, which the Emperor conferred on the grandson of Columbus—the dukedom of a country which, ten years previous, had thus been abandoned as wild and worthless!

Note XXXI.—p. 143.

The scarcity of water in many parts of Jamaica suggests a method, practised in Switzerland, of filtering water by ascension; as much superior to common filtering stones, or other methods by descent, in which particles of the stone, or the finer sand, find a passage with the fluid. Two wells are made, from five to ten feet, or any depth, at a small distance from each other, and having a communication below. The separation elsewhere must be of clay, well beaten; or of other substances impervious to water. The two wells are then filled with sand and gravel. The top of that into which the water to be filtered is to run, must be somewhat higher than that into which the water is to ascend; and this must not have sand quite up to its brim, that there may be room for the filtered water; or it may, by a spout, run into a vessel placed for that purpose. The greater the difference is between the height of the two wells, the faster the water will filter; but the less it is, the better; provided a sufficient quantity of water be supplied by

it. This may be practised in a cask, tub, jar, or other vessel. The water may be conveyed to the bottom by a pipe, the lower end having a sponge in it, or the pipe may be filled with coarse sand. It is evident that all such particles as by their gravity are carried down in filtration by descent, will not rise with the water in filtration by ascension.

The greater part of Jamaica is but indifferently supplied with spring or river water. Manchester, a parish containing one hundred and fifty thousand acres, has scarcely a spring in it; and few of the rivers in the island rise, or show themselves, far from the sea. The word Chabaüan might, however, have been applied by the Indians to the shores they pointed to opposite to Cuba, where streams of water are more plentiful throughout the parishes of Saint Mary, Saint Ann, and Trelawney.

With regard to the nominal allusion of barbarous nations in their origin of speech, it may be observed that the American tribes gave names to their children under the influence of the same idea which prevailed in Europe. Thus it was common to find in the New World, the names interpreted, "Glistening Light;" "Sun-bright;" "Fine Gold;" &c. Some of our English names, derived from the Latin or Saxon idioms, are of the same import: as Albert, *all bright;* Egbert, *ever bright;* Ethelbert, *nobly bright;* Gilbert, *gold bright;* Lucius, *shining;* &c.

The Indian languages were full of poetic imagery:—A Mexican king thus reproached his treacherous counsellors: "You were the feathers of my wings, and the eyelids of my eyes." The word used to express a king, or chief, in Canada, was *Ajohanna;* in New France, *Sagamos;* in Virginia, *Wiroan;* in Florida, *Paraousti;* in Peru, *Inguas;* and in Jamaica, *Cacique.* Which latter word, though peculiar to the larger Antilles, was afterwards applied by the Spaniards to the chiefs of all the countries they discovered, except in the cases of Mexico and Peru.

The English title of *King* has, generally, been supposed to be derived from the native word *Gyning*, signifying *wise:* but the Hebrew word *Rosch* is doubtless the root of all the present titles denoting sovereign power; the Punic *Resch;* the Scythian *Reix;* the Latin *Rex;* the Spanish *Rey;* and the French *Roi.* The German nations styled their ancient monarch according to their different dialects, *Konig, Kuning, Koning,* KING.

Note XXXII.—p. 145.

The Spaniards have a popular tradition that they received the Gospel from the Apostle Saint James, in the fifteen years which elapsed between the death of Christ and his own martyrdom; and by a series of forgeries and monastic sophisms, they have endeavoured to support it in the writings of Julian Peter, Flavius Dexter, and others. In the ancient liturgy, Saint James was celebrated as the apostle of Spain; and his pretensions were quietly admitted into the offices of most of the Latin churches, so that when, with the other arts, the art of criticism was restored, he could already boast a peaceable possession of nine hundred years. The pretensions of the Saint were now, however, canvassed, and after forty years expended in negotiation, admitted by the See of Rome in 1635: yet so qualified as to guard the pre-eminence of Saint Peter. But still the Spaniards triumphed. A military order had already been founded by Ferdinand II. in the year 1170, with the title of San Jago del Spada; and his saintship's aid was invoked as that of a good and valiant knight:—a strange title, indeed, for the worthy apostle, who, probably, had never been on horseback in his life. The day of his festival, the 25th of July, was auspicious to the arms of Spain, according to the admirable observation of Grotius.; "diem quem Hispani felicem sibi credunt; et, credendo, sæpe faciunt." Charles V. chose for the invasion of Provence, that sanctified day, which, in the preceding year, had been crowned by the conquest of Tunis: but on this occasion, Saint James and the Emperor were obliged to retire in disgrace. The Saint was more successful in the New World; and his day was religiously kept by Columbus during his second visit to Jamaica; which might have suggested the application of his name in the island.

Note XXXIII.—p. 148.

Herrera, liv. 6. c. 2, preserves the substance of a letter written from Jamaica several months after this period, but scarcely mentioned by other authors. Amongst the records of the Council Chamber in Jamaica is a manuscript and literal translation of it; and as it is accompanied by diaries and reports of the first English settlers, the Spanish copy was, probably, found amongst the papers of Don Sasi, where it had been

preserved as an authentic document. Whether the letter ever reached the king, to whom it was addressed, is uncertain: it seems to have been written rather in the agony of a bursting heart, seeking relief from the oppression of its afflictions, than in the hope that an opportunity would ever offer of transmitting it to Europe.

" *Santa Gloria.* Jamaica, 1504.

" Diego Mendez, and the papers I sent by him, will show your highness what rich mines of gold I have discovered in Veragua, and how I intended to have left my brother at the river Belin, if the judgments of heaven, and the greatest misfortunes, had not prevented it. However, it is sufficient that your highness and your successors will have the glory and advantage of all; and that the full discovery and settlement are reserved for happier persons than the unfortunate Columbus. If God be so merciful to me as to conduct Mendez to Spain, I doubt not but he will convince your highness, and my great mistress, that this will not only be a Castile and Leon, but a discovery of a world of subjects, lands, and wealth, greater than man's unbounded fancy could ever comprehend, or avarice itself covet; but neither he, this paper, nor the tongue of mortal man, can express the anguish and afflictions of my body and mind, nor the misery and dangers of my son, brother, and friends. Already have we been confined ten months in this place; lodged on the open decks of our ships, that are run ashore, and lashed together; those of my men that were in health, have mutinied under the Porros of Seville; my friends that were faithful, are mostly sick and dying; we have consumed the Indians' provisions, so that they abandon us; all, therefore, are like to perish by hunger: and these miseries are accompanied with so many aggravating circumstances that render me the most wretched object of misfortune this world shall ever see: as if the displeasure of heaven seconded the envy of Spain, and would punish, as criminal, those undertakings and discoveries, which former ages would have acknowledged as great and meritorious actions. Good heaven! and you, holy saints, that dwell in it, let the King, Don Ferdinand, and my illustrious mistress, Donna Isabella, know that my zeal for their service and interest has brought me thus low; for it is impossible to live and have afflictions equal to mine. I see, and with horror, my own, and, for my sake, my unfortunate people's destruction. Alas, pity

and justice have retired to their habitations above, and it is a crime to have undertaken and performed too much. As my misery makes my life a burthen to myself, so I fear the empty titles of viceroy and admiral render me obnoxious to the hatred of the Spanish nation. It is visible that all methods are adopted to cut the thread that is breaking; for I am, in my old age, oppressed with insupportable pains of the gout, and am now expiring with that and other infirmities, among savages, where I have neither medicine nor provisions for the body, priest nor sacrament for the soul. My men in a state of revolt; my brother, my son, and those that are faithful, starving: the Indians have abandoned us; and the governor of San Domingo has sent, rather to see if I am dead, than to succour us or carry me alive from hence; for his boat neither delivered a letter, nor spoke with, nor would receive any letter from us; so I conclude your highness's officers intend that here my voyages and life should terminate. Oh! blessed mother of God, that compassionates the miserable and oppressed, why did not cruel Bovadilla kill me when he robbed me and my brother of our dearly purchased gold, and sent us to Spain in chains without trial, crime, or shadow of misconduct? These chains are all the treasures I have; and they shall be buried with me if I chance to have a coffin or grave; for I would have the remembrance of so unjust an action perish with me, and, for the glory of the Spanish name, be eternally forgotten. Let it not bring a further infamy upon the Castilian name; nor let ages to come know there were wretches so vile as this; that think to recommend themselves to your Majesty by destroying the unfortunate and miserable Columbus; not for his crimes, but for his services in discovery, and giving to Spain a New World. As it was heaven itself that inspired and conducted me thither, the Heavens will weep for me and show pity! Let the earth, and every soul in it that loves justice and mercy, weep for me! And you, oh glorified saints of God, that know my innocency and see my sufferings, have mercy! for though their present age is envious and obdurate, surely those that are to come will pity me, when they are told that Columbus, with his own fortune, ran the hazard of his own and his brother's lives; and, with little or no expense to the crown of Spain, in ten years, and four voyages, rendered greater services than ever mortal did to prince or kingdom; yet was left to perish, without being charged with the least crime,

in poverty and misery; all but his chains being taken from him: so that he who gave Spain another world, had neither safety in it, nor yet an hut for himself or his wretched family. But should heaven still persecute me, and seem displeased with what I have done, as if the discovery of this New World may be fatal to the Old, and, as a punishment, bring my life to a period in this miserable place, yet do you, good angels, you that succour the oppressed and innocent, bring this paper to my great mistress. She knows what I have done, and will believe what I have suffered for her glory and service; and will be so just and pious as not to let the children of him that has brought to Spain such immense riches, and added to it vast and unknown kingdoms and empires, want bread, or subsist only on alms. She, if she lives, will consider that cruelty and ingratitude will bring down the wrath of heaven; so that the wealth I have discovered shall be the means of stirring up all mankind to revenge, and rapine; and the Spanish nation suffer hereafter for what envious, malicious, and ungrateful people do now."

How true a prophecy this was, Spain, to her bitter cost and eternal shame, has long since discovered!

Note XXXIV.—p. 152.

The most enlightened amongst the ancient nations of the Old World, would, in those days, have been equally alarmed at the fulfilment of such an ominous prediction. The eclipse which happened in the night preceding the defeat of King Perseus, caused the ringing of arms and helmets to echo through the ranks of the terrified Roman army; and the Athenians, says Plutarch, burnt alive such as dared predict so inauspicious an event, or say that it was caused by the earth's shadow; calling such soothsayers μετεωρολεσχεῖς; that is to say, men too inquisitive in the affairs of the gods.—See PLUTARCHUS in *Æmilio*, TACITUS in *Druso*, &c.

Note XXXV.—p. 155.

Herrera records this oath: "Ils le supplièrent d'user envers eux de miséricorde, reconnoissant bien que Dieu les avoit châtiés, et promettant de servir fidèlement: ce qu'ils jurèrent sur un crucifix et un missel; et que, s'ils violoient leur serment, pas un confesseur, ou autre Chrétien, ne les pût entendre en confession;

que la pénitence leur fût inutile ; qu'ils renonçoient aux sacremens de l'Eglise ; qu'au tems de leur mort ils ne participeroient point aux bulles, et indulgences, accordées par N. S. P. le Papè ; et qu'on traiteroit leurs corps comme ceux des rénégats, ne les enterrant point en terre sainte, mais les exposant en pleins champs, comme les hérétiques. Ils renoncèrent aussi à toute absolution de papes, de cardinaux, d'archevêques, et d'autres prêtres."—Liv. vi. c. 11.

Note XXXVI.—p. 163.

"Tres navios con docientos y setenta Españoles," says Solis, page 147. Edwards, however, mentions a greater force; and also says that it went from Jamaica in the year 1523. This is an error; for Garay's *second* expedition took place *before* Cortez had entered the city of Mexico; which event occurred on the 8th of November, 1519; and the dates I have given are confirmed both by Herrera and Solis.

Note XXXVII.—p. 167.

The name was familiar to the negroes who accompanied the Spanish fugitives, and probably suggested it; for near the port of Akra, on the western coast of Africa, is a mountain so called, and from a similar cause.—*Hist. Gén. des Voyages*, tom. iv. p. 492.

Acosta affirms that there were no "animaux *de service*" in Jamaica, when discovered; and hence it has been supposed that there were none whatever. But there were monkeys; and the goschis, a species of mute dog; and the agouti, or Indian rabbit. The last alone survives.

The Pedro district of Saint Ann's parish was named from Pedro d'Esquibel, the last resident governor at Seville d'Oro, and proprietor of that fine vale.

Note XXXVIII.—p. 171.

Acosta, who returned from the West Indies to Spain in the year 1587, names part of the freight on board the fleet with which he sailed. It shows how little the neglected colony of Jamaica weighed in the great scale of Spanish possession.

48 arobes	1,200 lbs.	gold,—the king's share, —or a fifth.
8 arobes	200 lbs.	emeralds.
1,282 marks	10,256 oz.	pearls—besides 3 chests, and 7 sacks not weighed.
	233,750 lbs.	cochineal.
897 chests		sugar.
8,000 quintals		quicksilver; the annual produce of Guancavilca.
35,444		hides.
64 arobes	1,600 lbs.	cotton, from the islands.

The quantity of the precious metals which the plate fleets carried to Europe, diminished annually; and, with all her riches, Spain never shone as a nation after she had discovered America. Upon the death of Philip II., her weakness increased until 1681, in which year, says Madame d'Aunoi, in her Mémoires, the revenue was at the lowest ebb; the king could not afford even to pay the wages of his domestics, and his household actually deserted the palace. There was no other resource to replenish the empty coffers than to make an *auto-da-fé*; and one was accordingly made in the year 1682, which the Jews of Spain recollect unto this day. Yet Usterez, a Spanish historian, asserts that, between the years 1493 and 1724, Spain received five thousand millions of crowns; that is, at an average rate of five millions sterling per annum, from her American mines.

Note XXXIX.—p. 176.

The annual course of the plate fleets is thus minutely detailed by Acosta:—The outward-bound galleons, upon quitting the bay of Cadiz, first touched at the Canaries; then stretching to the southward till they had got within the tropic, to about the twentieth degree of latitude, they profited by the trade-wind; which, it seems, was more regular then than it is now; for from that moment they had no occasion to hand a sail until they arrived amongst the islands; for which reason they named that region "Le Golfe des Dames." This course brought them to Dominique, Guadeloupe, and those other islands which serve as fauxbourgs to the Indies. There the fleet divided;—that bound to New Spain touched at Hispaniola, and taking its departure from Cape Antonio, steered directly under the trades

to Saint John D'Ulva; while the squadron bound to Terra Firma went to the southward; and, making the high lands of Tayrone, touched at Carthagena, and passed on to Nombre de Dios. From thence the traders went overland to Panama; and, by the South Sea, to Peru.

The homeward-bound fleets, heavily laden with the glittering treasures of the Indies, had their appointed rendezvous at the Havanna; after which, having gained their latitude of twenty-eight or thirty degrees, they almost invariably met with a free wind which carried them to the Azores, and from thence to Spain. This voyage from the Havanna is said to have commonly occupied ninety days.—See ACOSTA, lib. iii. c. 4; and GAGE, p. 202.

The improvident and parsimonious policy of the Spaniards induced them to trust these valuable fleets to the almost certain fate of capture; many and rich were the prizes taken by the French privateers, as early as the year 1543. (*Benzo*, p. 146.) Latterly, says Gage, they were better armed; yet it seems that not much precaution was used in the fleet which carried this traveller to Europe in 1637: for finding themselves surrounded by strange shipping, "all that night watch was kept, the guns prepared, and *red clothes hung round the ships*, to make a show of force. Next morning, being now, in all, two and fifty sail, two ships were found amongst us; whether English or Hollanders, wee could not well discover; but the English prisoners with mee told mee they thought one was a ship of England, called the Neptune, which, having got the wind of us, singled out a ship of ours, laden with sugar, and other rich commodities to the worth of at least fourscore thousand crowns, and suddenly giving her a whole broadside, receiving a reply onely of two guns, made her yeeld without any help from so proud and mighty a fleet. The whole business lasted not above half an hour; but presently she was carried away from under our noses."

At this period the English were in possession of the islands of Bermuda and Sta. Catalina, and the sails of their numerous cruisers whitened the seas around. The latter island, now called Providence, was afterwards the scene of a ferocious tragedy. In the year 1680, the Spaniards, irritated by the repeated depredations of the English privateers, landed there, totally destroyed the settlement, and actually roasted Clarke, the governor, on a spit.

The brutality of the commanders of the Spanish guarda-costas in the days of Walpole, will be long remembered in the circumstance of Jenkins's evidence before the House of Commons. The case was this: a Spanish commander, searching Jenkins's ship for contraband goods, and finding none, put the captain to the torture, and afterwards cut off one of his ears, telling him to carry it to the King of England, his master. Jenkins preserved the ear in a bottle, and actually produced it in the House of Commons. Being asked by one of the members, what he thought, or expected, while under the operation of the torture, "I recommended," he replied, "my soul to my God, and my cause to my country." The court members, who were adverse to a war with Spain, hung their heads, and made no further opposition.—See TORBUCK's *Parliamentary Debate*, vol. ix. p. 414.

Note XL.—p. 181.

Serrano derived its name from a Spanish hidalgo, a passenger in one of the plate fleets during the reign of Charles V.; whose ship was wrecked on the island, and himself the only individual who escaped a watery grave. Finding neither herbage nor water on the barren isle, he lived on turtle eggs for three years; and again, four years more in company with another unfortunate, who was cast ashore there like himself. At length a vessel touching there, carried them back to Spain; and Serrano was sent into Germany to satisfy the curiosity of the Emperor, from whom he obtained an order on the mines of Peru for four thousand eight hundred ducats; but died on his way to Panama to receive the reward of his sufferings.—MORRERI.

Cascabel is what is now called the Pedro Keys; about forty five miles from Blucfields; on it are many cocoa-nut trees, planted by the freebooters who resorted thither for turtle, seals, and birds, with which it abounds. It is but a desert tract of sand, little above the level of the sea, and seldom visited except from motives of curiosity.

Note XLI.—p. 182.

Long observes that the English found here mahogany trees thirty-six feet in girth; and I have myself seen one, in the deep woods near Hector's river, which a surveyor's half chain would

barely compass. Lignum-vitæ trees, of three feet diameter, were also common.

Note XLII.—p. 183.

A miniature figure of pure gold, representing a Spanish soldier with a matchlock in his hand, was lately found in the woods of the parish of Manchester. How it came there remains a mystery; for those extensive forests bear no marks of having ever been opened, or even penetrated, until lately.

Note XLIII.—p. 183.

Gage observes that, in the year 1519, the current value of a riall, in the West Indies, was two hundred cacao berries. Bryan Edwards, from the circumstance of nuts having served the purpose of money in America, concludes that, of whatever aboriginal stock were its native inhabitants, they must necessarily have emigrated from the Old World before metals were converted into coin! But the fact leads to no such conclusion; for to the lot of the miserable stragglers dispersed over the coast of a vast empire, very little of the coined wealth so abundant in great cities flourishing in its interior provinces, ever falls. They carry on trade with those commodities which their immediate neighbourhood supplies; such as the teeth and bones of fish; the skins of animals; and the produce of the vegetable kingdom peculiar to the maritime region in which the barter prevails. At this day, although few countries abound more in coined money of various kinds than India; yet in many parts, even in Bengal, the poor inhabitants make use of small shells, called *cowries*, in lieu of coin; and even the almond passes current amongst the inferior classes of Guzzerat.

Note XLIV.—p. 184.

"The number of the enemy is untruly related. We were assured there were upwards of three thousand in the country; and most of them living in or near the town, in which were four or six churches; and houses to have quartered twenty thousand men: and all were drawn down to oppose our landing, for we saw their fires made to give notice of an enemy approaching, the day before we landed; and I do believe they were generally drawn to the sea-side for their defence."—VENABLES' *Apology*.

Note XLV.—p. 188.

Dans l'année 1627, le hasard aïant conduit à l'Isle S. Christophe le Capitaine Desnaubuc, François, et le Capitaine Ouvernard, Anglois, ces deux nations s'y établirent; et, ensuite, dans les isles voisines; ce qui donna enfin occasion aux Anglois de penser à des établissemens plus considérables; et à la conquête de la Jamaique." Thus writes LABAT, v. ii. p. 331.

But the fact, with respect to the English settlement of Saint Christopher, is, that Thomas Warner who had accompanied Captain Roger North to Surinam, took possession of that island in January, 1623; and settled it two years before Desnaubuc left France. And the truth, with respect to the capture of Jamaica, is, that it was never thought of, till Cromwell found himself in possession of it by an accident which he deplored.

Note XLVI.—p. 190.

Jean Baptiste Nani, his contemporary, who had excellent opportunities of becoming personally acquainted with the Protector, thus concisely and accurately describes him.

" Huomo grande nei vitii, e nelle virtù; che, nel' arbitrio di licentiosa fortuna, visse con mirabile continenza, sobrio, casto, modesto, vigilante, indefesso; ma, da estrema ambitione agitato, appena pote satiarsi col sangue del Re, e col oppressione del regno."

Note XLVII.—p. 191.

The ballad-singers about the streets of London were continually reciting the barbarous cruelties committed by the Spaniards; and the greatest sensation was produced in the year 1654, by " Sir William Davenant having got permission to open the Cockpit Theatre, in Great Queen Street, wherein Sargeant Maynard and several citizens were engagers for the performance of a piece at three in the afternoon, punctually, called 'Sir Francis Drake; or, the Cruelties of the Spaniards in Peru;' so very well stylo recitivo that it did affect the eye and ear extremely."

This was the only theatrical representation which Cromwell allowed to be performed; and the reason then commonly assigned for this exclusive privilege, was its tendency to excite a

popular feeling against the Spaniards, whom he was then designing to attack.

Gage afterwards presented a memorial to Cromwell justifying the measure he had recommended of expelling the Spaniards from their American dominions: it is preserved amongst Thurloe's papers.

Note XLVIII.—p. 195.

The following narrative is from the pen of General Venables himself; and is preserved in the Council Chamber of Jamaica.

"It being the usual course of such persons whose pikes prove too short, to make use of their pens to supply that defect, and by that means endeavour to clear themselves from the envy and reproach their disasters might draw upon them, which is ordinarily measured to them with a large hand, I should have waved anything in this nature, and wholly cast my reputation, in the managing of this western design, upon the opinion of those that have formerly been acquainted both with my person and former services; but there being so many who never knew me, I find myself necessitated to publish a true narrative of the design, lest otherwise, if I be silent, some envious persons should censure me as their own misguided fancies and humours, or the slanderous reports of envious tongues, shall dictate to them.

"The sad differences which have some few years past fallen out in these nations, and being so general that almost every man was, in action or affection, engaged in them, upon one part or other, amongst others myself, (as conscience and judgment directed me,) adhered to the parliament, upon such grounds, reasons and engagements as were held forth by them, (though faithless of my hopes in the end,) which cause I promoted to my utmost ability against all discouragements; and to enable me the better, I sold a tenement of about forty pounds a year, with the money to raise arms, and to maintain a company of foot in that service; which I did; and served with the same in Lancashire without any pay."

The general then proceeds to narrate his services in England and Ireland until the expedition to the West Indies was proposed to him.

"After I had continued in Ireland almost five years, and never seen home, the Irish war being ended, Lord Broughill and myself were, at a general council of the officers, voted to

attend his highness with some addresses from the army, in order to the settling and planting of Ireland; which business being almost perfected, it was his highness's pleasure to acquaint me that he intended some other employment for me. I desired to know it. After some time, the design was imparted to me, and the justice of it, which I desired to be cleared before me, before I accepted of it; in which particular, being satisfied with this dilemma, that either there was a peace with the Spaniards in the West Indies, or not. If peace, they had violated it, and to seek reparation was just. If we had no peace, then there was nothing acted against articles with Spain. After this, I desired his highness to grant me some requests before I could accept of this employment. He commanded me to draw them up in writing, and to deliver them to Mr. Secretary Thurloe, who should give me an answer to them; which accordingly I did. These being granted, I proceeded to propound land in Ireland, for my arrears due for my service there, and some enlisting of officers now acting; when suddenly all the business was at a stand, and all further proceedings in it were waved; so that I thought all had been ended; and betook myself again to my own affairs. After some five months' silence, I was suddenly called upon to undertake the employment. I answered, I could not in conscience engage, unless my proposals were granted; nor leave my children without any care of them, except I should fall under the apostle's censure: 'He that provideth not for them of his family, has denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.'

"I desired to know the grounds and reasons of the design, that I might the better understand the state of those parts; I desired arms, ammunition, and all other necessaries suitable to the design, and the distance of the place. I further moved that my friends should not be made more formidable to me than my enemies, by streightening me with commissions and instructions; which, at that distance, could serve but as fetters; contingencies not being possible to be foreseen, and I by them discouraged and put into doubt.

"Whilst these things were in transaction, there were some discontents in the fleet against the unsoundness of the provision; about which being spoken unto by the officers, that the care of the food belonged to me, I desired the person that informed me to acquaint General Desbrow with it, which he did; and Gene-

ral Desbrow was so incensed against me, that he publicly fell out with me, and told me I sought to hinder the design, and raised an untrue report."

From the sequel it would appear that Desbrow, who had been one of King Charles's self-constituted judges, and an intimate friend of the Protector, "had a share in the profit of the place, and therefore would receive no complaints against the victuallers of the navy." Application to the lords of the council was attended with no redress.

"But after four months' attendance and expense of our money, we had not any positive answer whether the design would go on or no; and yet the design was vulgarly discoursed, whereby the enemy had timely warning to provide; which we find they did, with much circumspection and prudence" (in Hispaniola.)

"After about five months' time, I was commanded to be ready to go, with so much haste, having wholly laid all conceit of the design aside, that I was so surprised with confusion in my thoughts, I had scarce time to know in what condition the state of things were, before our men were drawn out. I desired we might only have such as freely offered themselves; which was promised us: yet the officers generally gave us the most abject of their companies; and if any man offered himself he was struck, or otherwise punished. And one thing I cannot omit, that those men we had were taken up purposely to spare their old blades; and among those thus entertained, were divers papists; in particular sixteen, and four of them Irish, and one priest were put upon us out of the lower regiment: many more were found since, though all we could discover were cashiered at Barbadoes; and though it was earnestly moved by me that we might have men raised out of the Irish army, seasoned with hardship and danger, it was utterly rejected; besides the men thus given, wanted five hundred of the number designed, and almost half their arms defective; which being related to the council, we were not permitted to stay for arms, much less to exercise the men, and try what they were. But the officers and myself were threatened to be imprisoned if they staid in the city till next day; whereby some were constrained to leave their necessaries behind them, all being denied carriages, which are allowed all other officers of the three nations. In all my desires

and proposals, I was constantly answered with scoff or bad language by some, as moving for targets; the country being woody, we had a jest told us, and then a denial.

"Instead of ministers to the six regiments I pressed for, being the design that was alleged to be for the propagation of the gospel, a number of black coats were offered: I complaining of profane persons being put upon me, it was answered, if they offended to cashier them; contrary to the old adage, *turpius ejicitur*, &c.

"All these things might have discouraged me from going, had not my affection for the service of my country transported me beyond my reason, and all the persuasions of my friends, I leaving a considerable employment at home, as well as estate; so that necessity did not force me upon the service. I was promised ten months' provisions for ten thousand men; but, instead of having it put on board with me, it was sent to London to the store ships, for want of room; and yet the officers of the navy took in commodities to trade withall at Barbadoes."

Such was the armament which subjected Jamaica! Venables was Colonel of a regiment of infantry in Ireland; commander-in-chief of the forces in Ulster; and commandant of the town and castle of Carrickfergus. From his suspected loyalty to Charles, he had become obnoxious to Cromwell; which, doubtless, was the cause of his being sent on this expedition, and afterward so roughly treated.

Barwick, whose life and writings are preserved in the library of Saint John's College, in Cambridge, and who was a contemporary and friend of Venables, asserts that such was actually the case.

"Cromwellus tamen in simulati amoris tesseram, revera tamen ut hominem, à quo sibi malè metuebat, longissimè a se amoliretur, copiis istis Venablium præficere voluit, quas in Americanam expeditionem conscripserat. Venablius autem fraudem Cromwellianarum minimè ignarus, et pro comperto habens plerisque eorum, quibus erat imperaturus, novam hanc tyrannidem issé satis invisam, cum istis copiis Tyrannum de solio deturbare, Regemque serenissimum restituere statuerat. Et profecto egregio cœpto minimè excidisset, si auxiliariæ phalanges, quarum erat in subsidiis stare adjutricem manum tam nobili auso admoturæ, à viro perfidissimo, cui Rex omnia sua sub ista tempora

concrediderat, non fuissent proditæ. Cromwellus autem, cui conjuratio ista subolere cœperat, Desburgum ante diem condictum nocte concubiâ ex improviso ad Venablium mittit, qui ipsum somno gravem de lecto suscitat, et ad iter Londino Portmuttam versus cum copiis suis quantocyus se accingere jubet. Sicque facinus egregium tunc temporis institutum intervertitur. Venablius tamen per Barwicum suum istius facinoris conscium et consortem jam denuo regiæ majestati officium suum defert."

This curious historical fact is corroborated by a letter from the Earl of Clarendon, dated at Brussels in July, 1659; in which he says, "I am very glad Venables disposes himself to a present engagement for the king: and I hope he will be a very fit adviser for Sir George Booth," &c. This explains the motive of Venables in leaving Colonel D'Oyley to command in Jamaica, a man, like himself, sincerely attached to the Stuart family; and why also the Protector so repeatedly superseded him.

Venables, on his release from the Tower in November 1655, declared that he then remembered "some words spoken to him by his friends, before he left England; which were, that he was sent to be destroyed, not to do service; that he was popular in Ireland, had too much interest there; and that they knew not how to displace him, or free themselves from him, but by such a removal as might occasion death."

Admiral Penn was also secretly dissatisfied with Cromwell, and warmly attached to the Royal Exile; as appears from a passage in the Marquis of Ormond's letter to the Duke of Newberg, dated in June 1655: "Besides the power the King hath in the navy, and amongst the seamen; in this particular fleet under Admiral Penn, where, besides the common soldiers and mariners, there are many principal officers who have served his Majesty, and whose affections will dispose them to receive any orders from the King."

The conduct of Venables, therefore, in the capture of Jamaica, has been unjustly censured by Long and other historians; and his failure in Hispaniola is to be attributed to the disorganised state of his army. His attachment to the royal cause, and the misfortunes which that attachment brought upon him, must render his name dear to all patriots, and every detail of his life and actions interesting to the colonists of Jamaica.

Note XLIX.—p. 198.

The force, according to Venables' account, was thus rated:—

2,500 soldiers } from England.
1,200 seamen }
1,851 horse and foot, from Barbadoes.
1,000 infantry, raised at Nevis, Saint Kitts, and Montserrat.

6,551.

The following were some of the principal persons who held official situations in this expedition.

Daniel Serle	Commissioner—died.
Edward Winslow	Commissioner—died.
Gregory Butler	Commissioner—returned to England without leave.
H. Cary	Secretary to commissioners.
Colonel Buller	The four commissioners who treated for the capitulation of Jamaica.
Col. R. Holdipe	
Colonel D'Oyley	
Major-general Fortescue	
Vice-admiral Goodson	
Lieut. S. Long	Secretary to the commissioners: obtained a grant of the Pedro district, and all the lands from thence to Longville, on the south side.
Captain Carpenter	
Daniel How	
John Daniel	A commissary.
William Poole	Nephew to Penn, and senior prize-officer.
S. Crewe	Junior prize officer.
J. Wentworth	
Col. A. Carter	
—— Rudyard	Quarter-master general.
—— Birkinhead	Adjutant-general.
Field Officers. Lieut.-col. S. Barry	afterwards settled in Liguanea.
Major R. Smith	
Philip Ward	
Henry Bartlett	
William Smith	
Michael Bland	

Field Officers.	William Jordan John Read Henry Archbould Major Hope Vincent Corbet Francis Barrington Major Throckmorton Major Bamford	Settled in Liguanea.
	—— Pain	A commissary.
	Captain Pegg	
	Lieut.-col. Bushell	
	—— Garvinor	
	—— Aylesbury	
	Colonel Morris	
	William Rowe	Venables' agents in London, afterwards came to Jamaica.
	Martin Nowell	
	H. Barrett	Settled in Mili-Gully.
	—— Hemming	Obtained a grant of the ruined city and lands of Seville.
	Col. Whitehorne	Settled near Seville.
	Col. Brooks	Settled in St. Elizabeth's parish; the last the origin of the Beckford estates, and family.
	T. Scott	
	—— Senior	
	Captain Rose	
	Major Cox	
	H. Vaughan	
	Major Parker	Settled near Carlisle Bay.
	Peter Robinson	
	Captain Harden	Settled in Westmoreland.

Note L.—p. 202.

The articles of capitulation agreed to by the British and Spanish commissioners, before the town of Saint Jago de la Vega, on the 11th of May, 1655, were these:—

"Imprimis: That all forts, arms, ammunition, utensils and necessaries of war, of what kind or nature soever, except what is hereafter exempted; and all kind of shipping that now is in any harbour of this island, with the furniture, sails, apparel, ammunition, ordnance, &c., thereunto belonging; as also goods, wares, merchandizes, or what else is upon the said island, be

delivered up unto the Right Honourable General Venables, or whom he shall appoint to receive the same, for the use of his Highness, Oliver, the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, before the day of this instant month of May; without any deceit, embezzlement, or concealment whatsoever.

"Secondly. That all and every the inhabitants of the island, except the hereafter excepted, shall have their lives granted, and shall not be abused in their persons; and that those of them that shall desire to depart this island shall, with their wives and children, be transported to some part of Nova Hispania, wind and weather permitting; or, otherwise, to some of the King of Spain's dominions in America, they providing their own provisions and victuals, necessary for the voyage; the which they shall have the permission freely to do.

"Thirdly. That all commission officers, and none else, have liberty to enjoy and wear their rapiers and poignards.

"Fourthly. That liberty shall be given to all that shall depart, according to the second article, to carry with them their wearing apparel, and any books or writings they shall desire.

"Fifthly. That all artificers and meaner sort of inhabitants, who shall desire to remain on the island, except hereafter excepted, shall enjoy their freedom and goods, excepting slaves; they submitting and conforming to the laws of the English nation, and such others as shall be declared by authority to be put in use, and exercised within this island.

"Sixthly. That all goods and necessaries, as well household as for draught, be continued at the several habitations and estancias to which they belong; and that all such goods as have been conveyed from the places to which they belonged respectively, and concealed or embezzled, be returned unto the several habitations unto which they appertained, before the day of this instant May; and that an account be given in thereof unto the said Right Honourable General Venables, or his deputies, according to the tenour of the first article.

"Seventhly. That nothing in the present articles be understood to extend to any person that came to this island upon a former attempt under Captain William Jackson, and there, forsaking their colours, revolted to the enemy: and that the governor do deliver the said persons unto the power aforesaid.

"Eighthly. That such hostages or rehenes, as shall be desired,

be given on the part of the inhabitants, for the true performance of these articles, also for the safe return of the English ships that shall be appointed for the transportation of those that desire to depart this island.

"Ninthly. That, in order to the transportation of those that shall depart, the number be certainly known, that convenient shipping be provided accordingly, it is agreed that the master of every family, or other free person of the inhabitants of this island, that shall depart, do, within days after the date hereof, bring unto the said Right Honourable General Venables, or his deputies, a perfect list of all the persons of their respective families, for whom they expect transportation, according to the preceding articles, as likewise the names and number of all the servants and slaves that belonged to them, on the day of this instant month.

"Tenthly. That a true list of all the other inhabitants and free men of the island, with their names, titles, qualities, and occupations, together with the names of their wives, children, servants, and slaves, be brought unto the said general or his deputies, within days after the date hereof.

"Eleventhly. That for all such persons whose names shall be so delivered at the port of Caguaya, to such as shall be then appointed by the general of the fleet to receive the same, for the use of the said persons to be transported, all slaves, negroes, and others be required by their several masters to present themselves upon the day of this instant May, before the aforesaid general, upon the savanna before the town of Caguaya, to receive such favourable concessions as are intended to be made unto them touching their liberty.

"That all persons that are to be transported be ready at the port of Caguaya before the day of May, or be utterly excluded, touching their liberty, from the benefit of these articles."

These articles were signed by the commissioners on both parts, and were drawn in the Spanish language; this copy being made by Venables himself.—See *Council Manuscripts.*

Lope de Vega, the celebrated Spanish writer of the sixteenth century, was still in such repute, that his birth-day was celebrated by his countrymen here; and its accidental coincidence with the martyrdom of Catherine, the virgin saint, had suggested the substitution of Saint Catherine for St. Jago de la Vega.

Note LI.—p. 207.

The following letter from General Fortescue to General Venables is dated about the middle of May, 1655, and proves the want of co-operation which the latter complains of:—

"According to your order, I sent four hundred men, commanded by Major Bamford, with sixty horse, to fetch up the provisions and ammunition, which Admiral Penn promised should be landed early this morning, whereby we might have been enabled to march, according to your order, toward the enemy, who still remain refractory, as appears by the inclosed; but, contrary to expectation, one of my officers returned from the sea-side, and assures me there were no provisions landed when he came away. Sir, the soldiers have not had any provisions almost forty-eight hours, and but one biscuit a man since we came hither; by reason whereof they grow very weak, and are much enfeebled. I have inquired concerning the ways and passages leading to the place where the enemy are encamped, which is eight leagues from hence, and I am assured there is but one way, and none other near it, much of it through savannas, part through a mountain, water some part, at the end of two leagues."

Note LII.—p. 211.

"*Jamaica, July 18th*, 1655.

"Several considerations to be humbly represented to his Highness the Lord Protector and Council, in behalf of the army in America.

"As we do, with all thankfulness, acknowledge his Highness's care in ordering considerable supplies and accommodations for the army, though it pleased God, through his providence, to retard them; so for the future it is humbly desired and hoped that his Highness will be pleased from time to time to order, upon the terms formerly agreed upon, accommodations for cloathing of officers and soldiers, and all manner of working tools and instruments, better than those now received, for the wood is generally so hard, and tools edges so bad, that they are scarce serviceable; as also bread, oatmeal, brandy, &c., arms, ammunition, plank, and medicines.

"That several from Scotland, or elsewhere, may be sent to assist in planting, for which the officers out of their pay will make such allowance as his Highness shall think fit, and assign

them such proportions of land as his Highness shall direct, at the expiration of their respective terms. By this means we shall be able to make provision for such as are here already, and such as shall be sent hither by his Highness for further service, and they will be in readiness for such other employments as his Highness shall command.

"That the allotment and distribution of land to the respective regiments of the army already approved of by his Highness's commissioners, may be ratified: the allotment to the Saint Christopher's regiment, which is to be reduced, excepted.

"That such encouragement as his Highness may think fit, may be given to such as shall desire to come from England, or any English colonies.

"That in regard it may happen, as by experience it hath done, that the supplies ordered and intended by his Highness, may not seasonably arrive, by reason of contrary winds, by reason whereof the army may be distressed, and reduced to exigencies, his Highness will be pleased to enable the army to take up necessary provisions for our accommodation of such merchant ships as shall come into the harbours of this island, and to draw bills of payment on such treasury in England as his Highness shall think fit, the same not exceeding ten thousand pounds.

"That for the better ordering this commonwealth, and encouragement of such as desire to live under a civil and settled government, his Highness will be pleased to send such constitutions and laws as his Highness shall think fit, &c.

"That in regard much inconvenience hath been found by the distinct and independent command of the army and fleet, his Highness would be pleased to order that both may be under one command; and that power be given to erect courts of admiralty, and grant commissions to private men-of-war, to annoy the enemies of our nation.

"That his Highness would be pleased to allow that such merchants as shall be willing to advance the service and plantations of this island may have all due encouragement; and such person or persons as he may authorize and appoint here, may be enabled to treat with them accordingly.

"That for as much as the officers have found, by sad experience, that the generality of the private soldiers of this army are men of low spirits, apt to receive impressions of fear, and basely to desert their officers and service, his Highness be humbly

desired, for the more effectual carrying on war in these parts, to order a considerable supply of well-disciplined, approved, and experienced soldiers, such as have been accustomed to hardships in Ireland or elsewhere, well accommodated with provisions, leather bottles, tents," &c.

Signed by fifteen General Officers.

See *Council Manuscripts.*

Note LIII.—p. 211.

The Baron de la Hontan, in his curious work on North America, published in the beginning of the last century, thus humorously describes the means which were adopted by the French to people Canada:—

" Après ces premiers habitans, vint une peuplade utile au païs, et d'une belle décharge pour le royaume. C'étoit une petite flotte chargée d'Amasones de lit, et de troupes femelles d'embarquement amoureux. Ces nonnes de Paphos, ou de Cythère, apportoient la bénédiction. L'on m'a conté les circonstances de leur arrivée, et j'aime trop à vous divertir pour ne vous en point faire part. Ce chaste troupeau étoit mené au pâturage conjugal par de vieilles et prudes bergères. Sçavoir si ces antiques n'avoient pas été du mêtier, et si l'age, cet impitoyable Saturne, ne les avoit point chassées de la lice de Venus, c'est sur quoi je ne suis pas trop bien instruit. Si tôt qu'on fût à l'habitation, les commandantes ridées passèrent leur soldatesque en revûë ; et l'ayant séparée en trois classes, chaque bande entra dans une sale différente. Comme elles se serroient de fort près, à cause de la petitesse du lieu, cela faisoit une assez plaisante décoration. Ce n'étoient pas trois boutiques où l'amour faisoit des montres, et des étalages, c'étoient trois magasins tous pleins. Le bon marchand Cupidon ne fut jamais mieux assorti. Blonde, brune, rousse, noire, grasse, maigre, grande, petite, il y en avoit pour les bizarres, et pour les délicats. Au bruit de cette nouvelle marchandise, tous les bien-intentionnez pour la multiplication, accourent à l'emplète. Comme il n'étoit pas permis d'examiner tout, encore moins d'en venir à l'essai, on achetoit, chat en poche ; ou, tout au plus, on prenoit la pièce sur l'échantillon. Le débit n'en fut pas moins rapide. Chacun trouva sa chacune ; et en quinze jours on enleva ces trois parties de venaison, avec tout le poivre qui pouvoit y être compris. Vous me demanderez comment les laides eurent si-tôt le

couvert. Ne sçavez vous pas qu'on se jette sur le pain noir pendant la famine? D'ailleurs, la terreur causée par le cocuage contribuë beaucoup à ce choix. Tel s'imagine n'avoir rien à craindre pour son front avec une épouse difforme; cet autre en veut une réplète, croyant que le défaut d'agilité la rendra plus assiduë dans son domestique; mais ils se trouvent souvent en erreur de calcul; et l'on éprouve, en Canada, comme en Europe, qu'il n'y a point de précaution sûre contre une femme infidéle. Les cornes, direz-vous, font-elles donc peur en ce païs-la? Chaque épousant se les applique de si bonne grace? Il feroit beau voir le mari d'une traînée appréhender d'être cocu en gerbe! Corrigez, s'il vous plaît, votre plaidoyer, Monsieur. Nos gens prétendent bien n'être pas même cocus en herbe; ils vous soûtiennent, mais de fort bonne foi, que ces filles ont recouvré pucélage, honneur, conduite, tout ce qu'il vous plaira, par la vertu de ce batême dont je vous ai parlé; c'est sur ce pié-là qu'ils les prennent. A la vérité le péché original a laissé de vilains restes dans ces régénérées, ce qui leur cause souvent des rechûtes; mais, enfin, nos maris se repaissent de cette idée, ils ne la perdent pas même dans les grands espaces de la première nuit de leurs nôces.

"Pour reprendre le fil de ma narration: ceux qui vouloient se marier s'adressoient aux directrices, auxquelles ils étoient obligez de déclarer leurs biens, et leurs facultez, avant que de choisir, dans une de ces classes, celles de ces vierges relavées qu'ils trouvoient le plus à leur gré.'" Les parties étant d'accord, le notaire écrivoit le marché, le prêtre en faisoit un sacrement, et elles commençoient à se connoître par le mariage. Le lendemain le gouverneur-général leur faisoit distribuer assez de provisions pour les encourager à mettre à la voile sur cet orageux océan; ils entroient chez eux à peu près comme Noé dans l'arche, avec un bœuf, une vache, un cochon, une truye, un coc, une poule, deux barils de chair salée, et une pièce d'argent."—Tom. i. p. 11.

Was such the way in which Jamaica became peopled? If so, some of the old Creole families had better not trace their pedigree too high. But, in point of fact, I cannot discover that the Order in Council was ever complied with.

Note LIV.—p. 212.

The proclamation of Cromwell, relative to the possession of

Jamaica, discovers a liberal knowledge of the advantages of trade, and the methods of encouragement. It was this:—

"Whereas by the good providence of God, our fleet, in their late expedition into America, have possessed themselves of a certain island, called Jamaica, spacious in its extent, commodious in its harbours and rivers within itself, healthful by its situation, fertile in the nature of the soil, well stored with horses and other cattle, and generally fit and worthy to be planted and improved, to the advantage, honour, and interest of the nation.

"And whereas divers persons, merchants and others, heretofore conversant in plantations, and the trade of the like nature, are desirous to undertake and proceed upon plantations and settlements upon that island:

"We, therefore, for the better encouragement of all such persons so inclined, have, by the advice of our council, taken care, not only for the strengthening and securing of that island from all enemies, but for constituting and settling a civil government, by such good laws and customs as are and have been exercised in colonies, and places of the like nature; and have appointed surveyors, and other public officers, for the more equal distribution of public right and justice in the said island.

"And for the further encouragement to the industry and good affections of such persons, we have provided and given orders to the commissioners of our customs, that every planter or adventurer to that island, shall be exempt and free from paying any excise or custom, for any manufactures, provisions, or any other goods or necessaries which he or they shall transport to the said island of Jamaica, within the space of seven years from Michaelmas next.

"And also, that sufficient caution and security be given by the said commissioners, that such goods shall be delivered at Jamaica only. And we have also, out of our special consideration of the welfare and prosperity of that island, provided, that no customs, or other tax, or impost, be laid or charged upon any commodity which shall be the produce and native growth of that island, and shall be imported into any of the dominions belonging to this commonwealth: which favour and exemption shall continue for the space of ten years, to begin and be accounted from Michaelmas next. We have also given our special orders and directions, that no embargo or other hindrance, upon

any pretence whatsoever, be laid upon any ships, seamen, or other passengers or adventurers, which shall appear to be engaged in and bound for the said island.

"And we do hereby further declare, for ourselves and successors, that whatsoever other favour, or immunity, or protection shall or may conduce to the welfare, strength, and improvement of the said island, shall, from time to time, be continued and applied thereunto."

Note LV.—p. 219.

Long states that the English term MAROONS was derived from the Spanish word "*Marráno*, an hog of one year old, because these people lived on such food, the produce of their savage sports;" but Benzo uses the word CIMARRONES, an hundred years before the British conquest of Jamaica: "Sic ab Hispanis *alienigenæ* illic vocantur," says he. (lib. i. cap. 1.) And no doubt the term was applied in consequence of the savage mode of life which these people led, *Cimmaron* signifying, in the Spanish language, *wild*. Gage used the same term, *Cimmarones*, for the wild cattle in the forests of Guatemala.

It has been supposed that the present race of Maroons derive their origin from the Spanish slaves who remained in the fastnesses of the island after its conquest: but these were all disposed of and accounted for to a man in less than eight years after that event. The Maroons of Jamaica owe their peculiarity of feature to the mixture of the Malay caste, which they derived from the crews of a Madagascar slave-ship wrecked upon these shores.

Note LVI.—p. 234.

The history of these Corsairs is a most extraordinary one. They derived their origin from the Buccaneers, the earliest French settlers in Saint Domingo, who employed themselves in hunting wild cattle for their hides and tallow; and many of them being driven by the Spaniards from their settlements, entered into a league with British adventurers, changed their element, and resorted to the more lucrative plunder of the seas.

In the year 1632, they first became conspicuous by their taking possession of the little island of Tortuga, situated about two leagues north from Saint Domingo. From thence they made frequent descents upon the Spanish colonies, and Seville d'Oro,

the capital of Jamaica, more than once felt the power of their victorious arms. In the year 1638, they were, however, attacked in their retreat by the Spaniards, whose vengeance was at length roused; most of the pirates fell, some flew to the woods of Saint Domingo, and those who surrendered upon the assurance of pardon, were faithlessly butchered. The Spanish general, thus successful in Tortuga, endeavoured to extirpate the confederate hordes of Buccaneers in the interior of Saint Domingo, and a mutually cruel and sanguinary war raged there, until a French prince succeeding to the Spanish crown, in some measure turned the scale in favour of these French marauders. They had chosen an English chief, named Willis; and the French party, fearing the loss of their ascendancy by such an accession of power, and the increasing strength of their rival associates, attempted to elect another captain of their own nation. The precaution, however, came too late, and the little colony of Tortuga would have been lost to France, but for the timely interposition of Poincy, the French governor of the Windward Islands, who, alarmed at the superiority of the English, sent Le Vasseur, in the year 1641, to drive their commandant from the island. Le Vasseur succeeded—maintained himself there against the reiterated attacks of the Spaniards, and especially distinguished himself against their grand assault in the year 1643. But, being a Protestant, and conceiving himself secure in his government, he began to persecute his Catholic subjects, and played the tyrant so hatefully, that he alienated the hearts of all. An opportunity soon offered for raising the standard of revolt against the governor-general; and Le Vasseur, ever ready to grasp at power, offered the island of Tortuga as a refuge for all who desired to enjoy the free exercise of the Protestant religion, provided they would acknowledge him under the title of prince. During the space of five years did he enjoy this imaginary dignity, declaring two of his nephews, Thibault and Martin, his successors. But these ruffians conspired against their benefactor, and Thibault assassinated him in the year 1652.

The governor-general, Poincy, attacked the murderers, who had usurped the government, and finding themselves deserted by their followers, who were unwilling to endure a siege on their account, they capitulated, while Fontenay, in the name of the king, assumed the title of governor of Tortuga and Saint Domingo, an honour his successors preserved long after the former island was evacuated.

Tortuga became, after this period, the general rendezvous of all the Corsairs in these seas. Their numbers were so increased, and their depredations on the Spaniards so fearless and successful, that the auditor-general of that nation arranged and matured a plan to surprise Fontenay in his fastnesses; and this bold adventurer, dislodged and frustrated in all his attempts to reinstate himself, retired to France. It was about this time that the freebooters, driven from their hold in Tortuga, destitute of a commander, and panting for revenge, lent themselves to every expedition against the hated Spaniards, and powerfully assisted the English in the conquest of Jamaica.

The governments, both of England and France, denied all understanding with these people, though they secretly rejoiced in the acquisition of a force which was such a check upon the haughty Spaniards. The pirates pretended, indeed, to hold commissions from the French and Dutch, but they possessed only what was humorously termed "a commission from the Pope." Previously to the capture of Jamaica they committed acts of the most disgraceful barbarity; and as the Spaniards, in their remorseless cruelty, had endeavoured to disguise their depravity under the cloak of religious zeal, so did these "Sea Solicitors" consider themselves crusaders in a righteous cause, and instruments of retributive justice in the hands of Providence. But when the English established themselves in the West Indies, they took the lead amongst the pirates, and suppressed, in some degree, the outrage. The freebooters began to be a little civilised, and their expeditions assumed an appearance of more honourable warfare.

It would be useless to detail all the daring and fruitful exploits performed by these bold adventurers, under their successive and far-famed leaders, Pierre le Grand, Peter Francis, Brasilano, and others. The Spaniards, finding themselves unable to cope with them, refrained, as much as possible, from trade, in the hope of starving them; but still, as they increased in force and boldness, they resolved on more daring enterprises, and prepared to attack even cities and fortresses. The constant risks to which these people exposed their lives, inured them to every degree of hardship and difficulty on their own element, and prepared them for even more desperate undertakings on shore; while the Spaniards, rendered listless by luxury and effeminate by indolence, offered but a feeble resistance. Though

possessing the advantage of numbers, yet they wanted the essential requisites, determination and courage, and they contented themselves under the idea that they were not conquered by men, but by devils.

The pirates now began to assemble in bodies, and to organise laws for the regulation of their conduct towards each other, and these laws were rigorously enforced. Their first want was to victual the fleet they established; but they disdained to become the purchasers of that which they possessed the power to enforce, and they considered it was degrading to their profession, as long as the Spanish cattle and swine pens were stocked, and at their service:

> ——— The good old rule
> Sufficed them—the simple plan,
> That they should take, who have the power,
> And they should keep—who can.

The first land-marauder was an Englishman, of the name of Scot, who sacked the town of Campeachy, and obtained a large ransom for its preservation. To him succeeded the notorious Mansvelt, who attempted to penetrate through Grenada to the South Sea, but want of provision compelled him to abandon that enterprise. Then came John Davis, a native of Jamaica, who, with ninety men, plundered the city of Nicaragua, obtained such fame that he was chosen admiral of the Corsairs, and took Saint Austin, in Florida, against a powerful force. About this time Lolonnois, a Frenchman, born at Sable d'Olonne, near Basque Roads, appeared on this golden scene of action. He had been banished when a youth, and sold as a slave in the West Indies; but, after passing through various gradations of villany, he was considered duly qualified to superintend lesser villains than himself, and was chosen governor of Tortuga. His daring exploits, which were marked by acts of remorseless barbarity, it would be painful and disgusting to detail. In his attack on Maracaibo and Gibraltar, he obtained two hundred and sixty thousand pieces of eight, and vast treasures in plate and jewels, most of which was expended within a few weeks, on the rude pleasures of the pirate sailor, in the streets of Port Royal. Lolonnois was at last burnt alive by the Indians of Darien.

Such was the usual commencement, progress, and termination of the earliest amongst the Buccaneers and freebooters, men

whose extraordinary acts of valour excite admiration, while their atrocious cruelties rouse feelings of the deepest horror and disgust. Yet the lives of even these desperadoes were not unproductive of advantages to the world, to say nothing of the flood of wealth which they poured into Jamaica. The jealousy of the Spaniards had barred all their trans-Atlantic possessions against the researches of foreigners, and kept every nation in ignorance of their history and productions; but these pirates broke into their hidden repositories, discovered their source of wealth, their local advantages, and their political positions, and, without being aware of the importance of their communications, were continually spreading reports of the various places they had visited, and giving tolerably accurate descriptions of the manners and customs of the inhabitants, with the nature of the soil, and the productions of the climates.

The reign of Elizabeth had been one of enterprise and heroism. The New World presented a vast theatre for bold undertakings, offering fame and wealth to the intrepid mariner. The increasing superiority of England on the seas was viewed with jealousy by the other nations of Europe, and they would all have gladly degraded her aspiring flag; but Elizabeth, aware, from her experience in the formidable attempt of Spain, how much the defence of her kingdom depended on her navy, liberally encouraged every attempt to increase its force, or promote the means of navigation and commerce. With this view she sometimes contributed ships for the prosecution of new schemes of trade; sometimes she gave money, and not unfrequently entered into actual copartnership with her merchants. Her connivance at the deeds of her privateering mariners has been censured; but the state of her kingdom compelled her to resort to all means for its preservation. Philip of Spain was the most penetrating prince of his time, and her most inveterate enemy; but Elizabeth, with extraordinary policy, laboured to convince other states that he was equally an enemy to them all, and that he aimed alike at subduing them. She cultivated a correspondence with his discontented subjects in the Netherlands, and encouraged her privateers to pass into the West Indies, to gain an acquaintance with his secret positions there. By these means she was a match for the wary Spaniard. But the great art by which this queen defeated all King Philip's political inventions seems to have escaped most historians. It was

in reality this: She discovered the principal instruments he intended to make use of for her destruction, and so managed them as to make them actually fulfil her own purposes, while they yet remained the pensioners of Spain. Thus she caused the ambassador, Mendoza, to be so wrought on as to forfeit his character, by suborning persons to murder Cecil; and she engaged the Spanish emissaries, employed to seduce her subjects, in daring plots against her own life, and thus she brought them to a speedy and ignominious death, alike terrible and shameful to the Popish faction.

Nor were her efforts confined to Europe alone. She fitted out fleets to attack the Spanish colonies, and she had the ablest captains to command them. Howard, Hawkins, Drake, and Clifford swept the seas, while she aided them in their outfits, and shared in their spoils.

But to return from this digression to the times more immediately connected with the British occupation of Jamaica, the foundation of whose prosperity was thus laid by acts little better than piratical, but which were considered as a species of retribution, and sanctioned by royalty itself.

The life and actions of the succeeding leader of the freebooters is so intimately connected with a most interesting period of Jamaica history, that a more ample detail is necessary. Henry Morgan, a native of Wales, born of obscure parents, and with no endowment but his courage, was advanced to the dignity of its lieutenant-governor, and acquired a name so terrible, that women frightened their children to sleep with it, and then lay awake themselves through very fear.

> Let not his mode of raising cash seem strange,
> Although he fleeced the flags of every nation;
> For into a prime minister but change
> His title, and 'tis nothing but taxation.
> But he, more modest, took an humbler range
> Of life, and in an honester vocation
> Pursued, o'er the high seas, his watery journey,
> And merely practised as a Sea-attorney.

Having no inclination to follow his father's agricultural pursuit, Morgan bade him adieu, wandered to Bristol, where, according to the custom of the times, he bound himself a servant for the space of four years, and, arriving at Barbadoes, was sold into actual slavery. As soon, however, as his term of years expired, he went to Jamaica, where the temptations held out by

the rapid acquirement of wealth on the seas, induced him to join the freebooters. His resolute courage soon brought him into notice; he made several successful cruises, and secured his share of the spoil. He saw the excesses and improvidence of his fellows, and that their lavish expenditure soon reduced them to distress; he profited by the example, and, having greater designs in view, lived so moderately that he soon amassed sufficient money to purchase a vessel for himself. Mansvelt, the prince of pirates, was then preparing a formidable expedition against the Spaniards, and pitched upon Morgan to be his vice-admiral. He sailed from Port Royal, with fifteen ships, and five hundred men, stormed and carried the island of Saint Catherine, and then proceeded to Puerto Velo. But the governor of Panama had timely notice of his approach, and, being unable to cope with him, Morgan returned to Saint Catherine, and applied to the governor of Jamaica for assistance to maintain him in possession of that island. But it was not the policy of Jamaica to establish any rendezvous which might divert the tide of wealth from herself, neither could such open countenance be given to the marauders. The governor of Tortuga was next applied to, but with the like success. Mansvelt died there, and Morgan, although he lost Saint Catherine, found himself in the sole command of twelve ships, and seven hundred men, ready for any enterprise. It was determined to storm Puerto del Principe, a considerable inland town in Cuba, for which purpose he landed at Santa Maria; but one of his Spanish prisoners swam ashore, and gave notice of the pirate's approach. It was too late, however, to retreat—resolution and address alone could redeem the error, and Morgan possessed both. He deviated from the beaten road, where ambuscades might deceive him, and, cutting his way through the woods, surprised the Spanish governor, whom he killed, and took the town. But the governor of Saint Jago approaching to its relief, and the French part of Morgan's force separating from him, he exacted an hasty ransom, and returned to Jamaica.

His next exploit will scarcely find a parallel in the history of human courage; and when he imparted to his followers his intention to attack Puerto Velo, they considered it perfectly impracticable. But the hope of riches was more energetic than the fear of death, and the proud ambition of daring such dangers excited the victorious band to the bold attempt. This city was

considered as the strongest place possessed by the Spaniards, excepting Carthagena and the Havannah. It was defended by three castles, two of which were so situated that no hostile boat could pass, and the town itself was well garrisoned. But it contained an irresistible lure in the golden treasures of Panama, the principal merchants there making Puerto Velo their general store and market. Morgan was acquainted with all the avenues of the city. It was in the night that he came to Puerto de Naos, ten leagues to the westward of the town; he sailed up the river to Puerto Pontin, anchored, and, guided by one who had been a prisoner there, reached Estera longa le Mos, whence he marched to the outposts of the city. To secure the sentinel before he could fire a shot, or alarm the garrison, was the first object, and it was instantly effected. The poor wretch disclosed all he knew, and enabled the desperate crew to surround and summon the castle, and to assail it at the same time with such resistless gallantry, that the governor was compelled to submit. Morgan, unable to spare men to guard his prisoners, is accused of having inclosed them all in a large dungeon, fired the magazine, and blew up the fortress with every Spaniard in it. Flushed with victory, the ruthless banditti rushed upon the city, which was unprepared to resist them. They forced the commandant into the remaining fort, whence he endeavoured, by an incessant cannonade, to stop the plundering in the town below. Yet it had no other effect than to spur them on to make a quick and sanguinary dispatch. They rifled the churches and houses, and resolved to storm the castle at the very mouth of its guns. Such intrepidity surprised the besieged, who met with certain death as they exposed themselves upon the ramparts. The carnage of the nocturnal conflict was frightful. Amidst its horrors both parties performed feats of valour, which would have immortalized the heroes of legitimate warfare. The stout resistance made by the Spaniards induced Morgan to attempt the gates by fire, but huge stones and balls of fire rolled off the battlements, and obliged him to desist. His men became dispirited at such an unusual check, while the promise of the enormous wealth which they knew was accumulated in the vaults of the fortress, scarcely stimulated them to renew the attack. Morgan's career would probably have been closed before its walls, had not fresh vigour been infused into his fainting troops by the sight of the English colours waving over the third re-

maining castle, which another party of his men had successfully stormed. He immediately prepared ladders, and commanded such prisoners as had been taken from the religious houses to fix them against the walls. The nuns and monks, thus compelled to obey at the point of the sword, conjured their resolute governor to yield, and spare their lives. But they were swept down amidst their prayers, and many an *ora pro nobis* stuck in the throat of the stricken friar. The pirates mounted the ladders thus planted, and the ill-fated Spaniards threw down their arms, and cried for quarter. The commandant alone refused mercy, and nobly met his fate in the presence of his suppliant wife and lovely daughter. The hearts of these desperadoes were steeled against the cries of nature, and even beauty in distress there found no advocate. The rack and the torture were the only means employed to relieve the wretched sufferers from their earthly pains, while every species of excess marked the footsteps of their conquerors during the fifteen successive days. A ransom of one hundred thousand pieces of eight was demanded for the preservation of the town, and paid, after the president of Panama had in vain attempted to redeem it by risking a battle, in which he was defeated. So astonished was he at this bold action of Morgan, that he good-humouredly dispatched a messenger to the successful invader, requesting to have specimens of those powerful arms wherewith he had effected such a desperate enterprise. Morgan treated the envoy with politeness, and dismissed him with a pistol and a cutlass, desiring the president to accept of that slender testimonial of his regard, the patterns of the only arms wherewith he had taken Puerto Velo, and adding a request that he would keep them for a twelvemonth, when he would come to Panama and fetch them away again. To this polite threat the president replied by sending Morgan a gold ring, and expressing a very sincere desire that he would not repeat his visit.

After levelling the redoubts, which had been raised by the Spaniards, and dismounting their guns, the pirate band returned to Jamaica and counted the spoil on the sea-shore at Port Royal; where every kind of allurement was held out to drain them of the two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight which these three hundred plunderers had shared. Plate, jewels, and other rich effects, were literally piled beneath the eaves of the houses, in the want of warehouse room. But all this wealth

quickly changed its owners; and the pirates, reduced almost to starvation in the midst of stimulants, became clamorous for their captain to put to sea again, after a few short weeks of riotous debauchery.

His fame now placed Morgan at the head of a thousand desperate fellows, and a fleet of fifteen vessels, the largest of which, however, a ship of thirty-two guns, given him by the governor of Jamaica, blew up during a night's debauch, and upwards of three hundred men perished. Maracaibo had once more recovered its opulence; but, with Gibraltar, it was again sacked, and the wretched inhabitants underwent the same cruel tortures which they had felt at the hands of Lolonnois. No spoil, however, now enriched the conquerors: for the wary Spaniards had removed all their valuable effects into the woods: and although every effort was made which barbarity and avarice could suggest, the hiding-places were kept profoundly secret. Weary and vexed at their unusual ill fortune, the pirates prepared to retreat.

They had now been long absent from Maracaibo, and feared that the Spaniards might have taken measures to obstruct their passage from the lake. To their utter consternation, their fears were realised when they discovered three men-of-war waiting for them, resolved to dispute the passage; and found the castle, under whose guns they must pass, well prepared to sink them. Despair was for once visible upon those hard features which were familiar only with the emotions of gratified revenge: all retreat was cut off, and retaliation alone could be expected at the hands of the irritated Spaniards.

In this dilemma Morgan alone remained unshaken and undaunted; a single event could suspend his ruin, and by that event was his ruin suspended. His courage surmounted the difficulties, and afforded an example that the resolution of one daring spirit, in times of danger, is oftentimes more valuable than the swords of hundreds. Open force was useless; so he had recourse to stratagem; and contrived a fire-ship with such ingenuity that it was impossible for the enemy to recognise her as such. He filled her deck with logs of wood dressed with Montera caps, placed sham guns in her ports, and firing the slow-match, floated her down to the Spanish ships; with the largest of these she grappled, and they were instantly both of them in a blaze. Another ran ashore in the consternation which

followed; and the third became an easy prey to the pirates, who, at a distance, waited the event. Naval history records not a more daring or successful enterprise than this. But, though their floating enemies were destroyed, the castle was still impregnable, and they must pass it. In vain did Morgan try the expedient of exposing nuns and friars on his decks, hoping thus to restrain their countrymen from firing. But the sword of Morgan was not more useful than his sagacity, and again he had recourse to stratagem. He withdrew out of the reach of the guns, and, filling his boats with men, ordered them to row ashore, as if with the design of landing: instructing them to conceal themselves, on their return, in the bottoms of the boats, so that only two or three should appear to conduct them back to the ships. This was repeated several times, to the great amazement of the Spaniards, who concluded that he meditated a night attack from the land-side; for though they could distinctly see the men as they went ashore, yet they were unable to discover any on their return. To provide against this expected attack, they removed their guns to the ramparts which might command it, leaving the sea-side almost destitute of defence. The moon shone bright and clear; the pirates tripped their anchors and floated down the stream, till near the castle, when they spread every inch of canvas, and passed the mortified Spaniards in triumph, saluting the outwitted governor with a few shots, which he was unable to return. Again was Jamaica deluged with wealth, and benefited by the prodigality of the pirates, who appeared to have no other motive in risking their lives, than to satisfy the rapacity of its inhabitants. The system had now increased to such an extent, that their force consisted of four thousand men; of whom one half was under the immediate command of Morgan; whose reputation was so great that many young men of family came out from England to join him. He divided his fleet of thirty-seven sail into two squadrons; recaptured Saint Catherine, kept it as a place of retreat, and determined on performing his promise to the governor of Panama. Ambition was his only motive, and his only title was superior strength. He directed his course by the river Chagres; attacked the castle, and took it. But it was an accident which caused its immediate surrender. One of his men was wounded by an arrow, which Morgan instantly extracted; and, wrapping cotton around its bloody point, he put it into his musket and discharged it into the fortress,

where, falling near the magazine, an explosion followed which shook it to its foundations.

Every species of difficulty and danger which the governor of Panama could oppose to this gallant band, obstructed its approach. In the most perilous positions it was guided and rallied and checked by the hand of a master; and, after incredible deprivations, Morgan, on the ninth morning's march, gained the summit of a mountain, whence he obtained a view of the South Sea, and the bay of Panama: a sight which filled his men with such joy, that, for once, the pirates returned their grateful thanks to heaven. They halted before the city, whose guns played upon them during the night; but, accustomed as they were to such kind of music, they opened their satchels and enjoyed a hearty meal, resolving next day to repay the Spaniards in their own coin.

The governor advanced at the head of two squadrons of cavalry, with four regiments of infantry; and a vast number of wild cattle were driven by negroes in the van, to break the ranks of the enemy. Two hours' desperate conflict ensued; and ended in the defeat of the Spaniards, after they had lost six hundred men killed, and the services of twice as many wounded. Morgan pursued the advantage he had thus gained, and approached the gates, under a heavy fire from the ramparts. Another contest of three hours put him in possession of the town, which unfortunately, by some accident, took fire, and continued burning during several days. The barbarous act was imputed to Morgan; but he ever disclaimed his knowledge of its origin, and published a justification of himself. Like the conflagration of Moscow, it was probably the work of patriotic zeal against a hated and successful enemy. Vast quantities of molten gold and silver were found incrusted on the very pavements of the town; and the worth of millions was collected from the wells and fountains in which it had been hastily concealed. For three months did the pirates riot amidst the smoking ruins, levying contributions on, and extorting ransoms from, the unfortunate captives; while the party which had been left at Chagres captured several ships richly laden.

With one hundred and seventy-five mules richly loaded with gold, silver, and jewels, Morgan arrived at Chagres. There he made a division of the spoil; but his crew, suspecting him of fraud in the partition, mutinied; and he was glad to steal away

privately, with only two or three ships; yet he reached Jamaica, bearing four hundred thousand pieces of eight in specie,—the substantial trophies of his victory.

But now the remonstrances of the Spanish court materially checked this marauding system; and Spanish gold eventually bribed Morgan's friends to procure his ruin. Two successive governors had granted him Jamaica commissions, and, in fact, he had never acted without one. When they were recalled, he ceased his depredations, and retired into the peaceful walks of private life. He purchased a plantation, lived upon and improved it; and although the cruel acts which he had allowed his followers to perpetrate, must ever remain a stain upon his character, yet he did his best to obliterate it by the virtues of civil life; and he recommended himself so effectually to public favour, that he became a naval commander in the service of his King, obtained the honour of knighthood, was admitted a member of the council of Jamaica, and thrice filled the responsible office of its lieutenant-governor.

Spain, however, could neither forget nor forgive him; and revenge prevailed so far as to procure a letter from the secretary of state, ordering him from his retreat, a prisoner to England. There, confined in a dungeon by the tyrannical measures of a court faction, without even an audience, his sound and robust constitution, which neither the toils of war, the shocks of famine, nor the fatigues of watching, could impair, sunk beneath unmerited disgrace; and he died, leaving a name which struck terror into Spain, and which records exploits equal, if not superior, to any which ever flowed from British courage.

Succeeding governors of Jamaica were furnished with authority to suppress the freebooters; and, although a stop was not entirely put to their proceedings, they never again assembled in such organised bodies as under Morgan. Driven from Jamaica, whose colonists were now obliged to draw their wealth from the soil, the pirates sought refuge in the smaller islands; until a fleet of cruisers forced them to seek their desperate fortunes on the western coast of America. The isthmus of Darien became their path to the South Sea; there persons of all nations were continually crossing, and their ships were thus constantly supplied with mariners; many of whom, of superior but broken fortunes, were compelled by poverty, or prompted by avarice, to risk their lives to redeem their wealth.

History affords no parallel to these corsairs of the New World. They were undauntedly brave, yet cowardly brutal; and justice compels the acknowledgment that they were the basis of our naval glory, and that to them Great Britain owes the many millions which she has drained from the fruitful colony of Jamaica.

Note LVII.—p. 237.

The common belief is, that Cromwell died on the "auspicious third of September," in the year 1658; but Raguenet, who wrote his life from choice materials, and published it in 1691, distinctly asserts that he died on the *thirteenth* day of the month, and makes him five years older than most other biographers. Moreri, following the authority of Bayle, says that Cromwell was born in 1599, and died on the *thirteenth* of September, 1658. Bishop Burnet, on the other hand, maintains the usual opinion. It is not a little extraordinary that, in an event of such recent date, any anachronism should occur. But in Edwards's history of Jamaica, another circumstance is reported, which distracts the question still more; for he mentions a prevailing report that President Bradshaw died in Jamaica, and that a cannon was placed upon his grave, bearing an appropriate inscription. This must be entirely without foundation; for Raguenet says, page 284, "La mère de Cromwel étant morte sur la fin de cette année (1654), il fit enterrer son corps à Westminster, avec les Rois d'Angleterre, comme il avoit fait *déja* ceux d'Ireton et de Bradshaw." Besides, there is extant the receipt for the charge of disinterring the body of Bradshaw, in compliance with an order for hanging it at Tyburn, with those of Cromwell, Ireton, and Price; which order was issued on the 8th December, 1660. The following is a copy of this curious document:—

"May, the 4th day, 1661. Received then in full, of the Worshipful Sergeant Norfolke, fifteen shillings, for taking up the corpses of Cromwell, and Ireton, and Bradshaw, by mee.

"JOHN LEWIS."

Salmon, in his Chronology, says that Bradshaw died of a quartan ague, on 31st October, 1659. Edwards copies that date; adding that he had a magnificent funeral in Westminster Abbey; which is not at all probable, if his powerful and only patron, Cromwell, had died first. Bradshaw's son afterwards

came to Jamaica in the command of a regiment; and thence probably originated the error.

Some of those who sat as judges at the mock trial of the unfortunate Charles, became settlers in Jamaica; and remained after the Restoration, unmolested in their voluntary banishment. Daniel Blagrove and Colonel Thomas Wayte were of the number of these expatriated judges; and though General Harrison was earnestly pressed to accompany them, he was consistent enough to glory in the ignominious death which awaited him at home.

A son of Alderman Thomas Scott,—one of Charles's judges, who was executed in 1660,—settled the plantation called Y. S., in the parish of Saint Elizabeth. A daughter of this man married one of the Beckford family, who was a royalist, and had been compelled to fly from England during Cromwell's tyranny.

Amongst the earliest appropriations of the island, the scite and remains of the city of Seville were conferred by D'Oyley on one of his favoured officers of the name of Hemming, in whose family the estate yet remains. And the whole of the district from that estate across the island to Esquimel (Old Harbour) was given to one individual, Mr. Long, who afterwards so greatly distinguished himself in the political history of the colony.

The fate of the English exiles who had taken refuge in these western isles was thus prettily recorded by Andrew Marvel, at the time when he assisted Milton as Latin Secretary to the Commonwealth.

Where the remote Bermuda's ride
In th' ocean's bosom unespied,
From a small boat that row'd along,
The listn'ing winds received this song.

'What should we do but sing His praise,
Who led us through the wat'ry maze,
Unto an Isle so long unknown,
But yet far kinder than our own?
Where He the huge sea-monsters wracks,
That lift the deep upon their backs.
He lands us on the grassy stage,
Safe from the storms, and prelates' rage.
He gave us this eternal spring,
Which here enamels every thing;
And sends the fowls to us in care,
On daily visits through the air.
He hangs in shade the orange bright,
Like golden lamps in a green night:

And in pomegranates does enclose
Jewels more rich than Ormus shows.
He makes the figs our mouths to meet,
And throws the melons at our feet:
But apples plants of such a price,
No tree could ever bear them twice.
With cedars, chosen by his hand
From Lebanon, he stores the land:
And makes the hollow seas that roar
Proclaims there's Ambergris on shore.
He cast—of this we ever boast—
The Gospel's pearl upon our coast:
And in these rocks for us did frame
A temple where to sound his name.
Oh, let our voice his praise exalt
'Till it arrive at heaven's vault,
Which thence, perhaps, rebounding, may
Echo beyond the Mexique Bay.'

Thus sung they, in the English boat,
An holy, and a cheerful, note;
And all the way, to guide the chime,
With falling oars they kept the time.

Note LVIII.—p. 245.

At the period of the Restoration, when a prospect of peace, if not of prosperity, opened in Jamaica, a great number of Scotchmen sought their fortunes here. They brought, and have still preserved, a tradition that a glass of brandy caused that auspicious event. Thus:—the messenger from the Parliament of England had brought letters to General Monk, whilst he remained in Edinburgh. This messenger was at length intrusted with dispatches to the governor of Edinburgh Castle, a circumstance which he mentioned to one of Monk's servants while on his journey. The man saw something unusual in this, and prevailed upon his fellow-traveller to drink a dram with him at a neighbouring ale-house, where the messenger soon became so drunk, that the faithful serjeant was enabled to take the papers from his custody without detection. This done, he posted to his general with the packet, and, on opening it, Monk discovered an order for his own arrest and detention in the castle. Policy and resentment at once directed his views to Charles Stuart; and the restoration of his Monarch, through his powerful agency, was the consequence.

Note LIX.—p. 246.

D'Oyley's instructions consisted of twenty-two articles, and being the first which emanated from a legal source, the curious document is worthy of a record.

After directing the publication of the royal commission, the second article appoints a council; but, with reference to this point, it must be observed, that no directions were given, either in the commission which refers to the instructions, or in the instructions themselves, as to the mode in which that council should be chosen; it rather appears that the governor was at liberty to name the members himself.

The succeeding five articles relate to the administration of oaths, the establishment of judicatures, and the provision for the dependancies.

The eighth directs encouragement to be given to such planters as should remove to Jamaica from other colonies.

The ninth directs one hundred thousand acres of land to be set apart in each of the four quarters of the island, as a royal demesne, a survey to be made, a register to be kept of all grants, and a militia formed.

The tenth directs the planters to be encouraged, their lands to be confirmed to them under the great seal, and allots fifty thousand acres to the governor for his own use.

The eleventh relates to the encouragement of an orthodox ministry; and the twelfth establishes a duty of five per cent. upon all exports, after the expiration of seven years.

The thirteenth, and three succeeding articles, contain general directions as to the liberty and freedom of trade (excepting the Spaniards), the assistance to the neighbouring plantations, and the security of the island, by obliging the planters to reside together in bodies.

The seventeenth directs that, as an encouragement to men of ability to go to the island, no offices shall be held by deputy, and gives power of suspension or removal to the governor.

The nineteenth empowers the governor to grant royalties and manors, to contain less than five hundred acres; and the twentieth deputes the governor, with the advice of his council, to call assemblies, to make laws, and, upon imminent necessity, to levy money.

The commission was dated on the 13th of February, 1661.

Note LX.—p. 249.

This mace cost eighty pounds; and the great seal, which was of silver, represented on one side his Majesty seated on his throne, two Indians on their knees presenting fruits, and two Cherubims aloft, supporting a canopy: beneath, the motto, "DURO DE CORTICE FRUCTUS QUAM DULCIS." On the exergue, "Carolus Secundus, Dei gratia Angliæ," &c., "ET DOMINUS JAMAICÆ." The motto, "INDUS UTERQUE SERVIET UNI;" below, a cross gules, charged with five pine-apples in a field argent, supported by two Indians plumed and condaled; the crest, an alligator vivant, and the orbicular inscription,

ECCE ALIUM RAMOS PORREXIT IN ORBEM
NEC STERILIS EST CRUX.

This seal was designed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was kept by Sir Thomas Modyford; and, by the advice of his council, the succeeding lieutenant-governor held it, "lest it should be in particular hands, and an office should be made of it in multiplying of chancery suits, *whereof hitherto there have been none*," says Sir Thomas Lynch, in the year 1671.

On the present seal his Majesty is represented in his regalia, inclining forward, with the sceptre in his right hand, and his left extended towards a basket of fruit, which a negro, in a savage dress, presents in a kneeling posture.

Note LXI.—p. 250.

"*A Proclamation for encouraging of Planters in his Majesty's Island of Jamaica, in the West Indies.*

"Wee being fully satisfied that our island of Jamaica, being a pleasant and most fertile soyle, and situated commodiously for trade and commerce, is likely, through God's blessing, to bee a greate benefitt and advantage to this and other our kingdoms and dominions, have thought fitt, for encouraging of our subjects, as well such as are already upon the said island, as all others that shall transport themselves thither, and reside and plant there, to declare and publish, and wee doe hereby declare and publish, that thirtie acres of improveable land shall bee granted and alloted to every such person, male or female, being twelve years old or upwards, who now resides, or, within two years next ensuing, shall reside upon our said island, and that the same shall bee assigned and set out by the governor and coun-

cil, within six weeks next after notice shall be given in writing, subscribed by such planter or planters, or some of them, in behalfe of the rest, to the governor, or such officer as he shall appoint in that behalfe, signifying their resolutions to plant there, and when they intend to bee on the place; and in case they do not goe thither within six months then next ensuing, the said allotment shall be void, and free to be assigned to any other planter; and that every person or persons, to whom such assignment shall be made, shall hold and enjoy the said lands soe to bee assigned, and all houses, edifices, buildings, and enclosures thereupon to bee built or made, to them and their heirs for ever, by and under such tenures as are usuál in other plantations subject to us.

"Neverthelesse they are to be obliged to serve in armes, upon any insurrection, mutiny, or forraine invasion; and that the said assignments and allotments shall be made and confirmed under the publique seal of the said island, with power to create any manor or manñors, and with such convenient and suitable priviledges and imunities as the grantee shall reasonably desire and require; and a draught of such assignment shall bee prepared by our learned counsell in the lawe, and delivered to the governor to that purpose; and that all fishings and pischaries, and all coper, lead, tin, iron, coales, and all other mines, except gold and silver, within such respective allotments, shall be enjoyed by the grantees thereof, reserving only a twentieth part of the product of the said mines to our use.

"And wee doe further publish and declare, that all children of any of our naturall borne subjects of England, to be borne in Jamaica, shall, from their respective births, bee reputed to bee, and shall bee, free denizens of England, and shall have the same priviledges, to all intents and purposes, as our free-borne subjects of England*; and that all free persons shall have libertie, without interruption, to transport themselves and their families, and any their goods, except onley coyne and bullion, from any our dominions and territories, to the said island of Jamaica.

"And we do strictly charge and command all planters, soldiers, and others, upon the said island, to yield obedience to the

* By a singular omission here, all the children who were born between the years 1655 and 1662, and of course their descendants, were thus excluded from the benefit of this proclamation.

lawfull commands of our right trusty and well-beloved Thomas Lord Windsor, now governor of our said island, and to every other governor thereof for the tyme being, under paine of our displeasure, and such penalties as may bee inflicted thereupon.

"Given at our Courte at Whitehall, the fourteenth day of December, 1661.

"'P'. ipm'. REGEM."

The particular terms on which lands had previously been granted, under Cromwell's instructions, cannot now be ascertained, the oldest records preserved not reaching back so far. There is reason, however, to believe that they were held under orders of survey issued by the commander-in-chief; or plats surveyed; and these orders and plats were assignable from one person to another, in the same manner as notes of hand. So little attention was at that time paid to those formalities of the law which are now become indispensable in the transfer of landed property. Many tracts of land in Jamaica are at this day held under no other original title than such an endorsed or assigned order as is here subjoined.

"*Jamaica ss.*

"Whereas A. B. hath transported himself and family unto this island, with an intent to settle and abide here, and to that end hath requested me to grant him an order for his proportion of land at , by the sea-side, next adjoining to the plantation of C. D., being N. W., I do hereby assign and appoint him two hundred acres of ground, according to a proclamation heretofore made, in the place afore-mentioned, to run it out as he shall think fit. And I do hereby require that no person or persons belonging to the army or Commonwealth of England (the word Kingdom was substituted after 1661) do molest or trouble him in the prosecution of his settlement, but rather to aid and assist him hereon, provided this be not prejudicial to any former order by me made.

"*Dated this 12th January* $16\frac{6}{7}\frac{9}{0}$.

"EDWARD D'OYLEY.

"Recorded the day and year above written, in the secretary's office, at the General's house.

"Per ARTHUR TOWN,

"*Secretary to the General.*"

Note LXII.—p. 235.

DISTRICTS.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Negroes.	Arms.	Acres in Cultivation.
In the precincts of Port Moranto	168	60	37	126	120	464
In the precincts of Morant	122	14	17	53	75	129
In the precincts of Yealoth	207	36	25	54	72	355
In the precincts of Legene	553	149	125	54	300	549
In the town of Saint Angelo Delvega....	207	52	42	53	100	100
Between the Black River, Bower Savanna, and thereabouts	178	22	12	27	120	200
In the Angles Quarters.....	100	20	14	46	56	170
In the Seven Plantations, Macaria, Quathebeca	275	50	20	50	150	250
In the Quarters Quanaboa and Quardalena	390	42	26	39	330	700
Upon Point Caugway	400	200	90	50	300	...
	2600	645	408	552	1523	2917

" There was likewise a polinco of negroes, consisting of about one hundred and fifty, under one Boulo, as lancers and archers, and many private men-of-war men, besides many more comers and goers, Frenchmen and others."

Such is the first-recorded census of Jamaica, taken seven years after its capture.

Note LXIII.—p. 255.

It was not unusual for the superstitious ignorance of those fanatical times, thus to draw indications of future prosperity or adversity from the appearances of the heavens. Astrology was largely imported into Jamaica by the Oliverian army. Lilly, Vincent Wing, Gadbury, and other almanac makers, were then the seers of the age, and had many military disciples here. These sages were then in full practice in London, or its neighbourhood. Lilly was frequently addressed from all parts of the world, " att the corner house over against Strand-bridge:" Gadbury dates his " London's Deliverance," printed during the plague in 1665, from his " house in Jewen-garden:" Moore lived at Lambeth. But Lilly obtained the greatest reputation of them all. The unfortunate Charles brought him into celebrity, by consulting him in his troubles. This Dr. Johnson alludes to, in speaking of Hudibras. " Astrology," says he,

" against which so much of this satire is directed, was not more the folly of the Puritans than of others. It had at that time a very extensive dominion. Its predictions raised hopes and fears in minds which ought to have rejected it with contempt. In hazardous undertakings care was had to begin under the influence of a propitious planet; and when the king was prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle, an astrologer was consulted as to what hour would be found most favourable for escape." Dr. Heylen, in his life of Laud, enumerates many astrological presages of that learned prelate, which evince the extraordinary superstitions of those times. Jamaica had its astrologers also; and the inauspicious first of December, 1662, was long considered as the source of all the misfortunes which afterwards happened to the ill-fated town of Port Royal.

Note LXIV.—p. 266.

The following are the principal covenants of this American treaty with Spain:—

That all hostilities should cease between the two kings and their subjects; and that both sides should call in all commissions, letters of marque, &c., and declare them null and void. That prisoners on both sides, detained by reason of acts of hostility hitherto committed in America, be set at liberty. That offences, injuries, and losses suffered by either party in America, be wholly buried in oblivion. That the King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors, shall always possess, in full right of sovereignty and propriety, all the countries, islands, colonies, &c., lying and situated in the West Indies, or in any part of America, which he or his subjects now hold or possess, insomuch that they neither can nor ought hereafter to be contested under any pretence whatever. That the subjects, merchants, captains, masters, and mariners of each ally respectively, shall forbear and abstain from sailing to or trafficking in the ports and havens that have fortifications or magazines, and in all other places possessed by either party in the West Indies. That it be always understood, that the freedom of navigation ought by no means to be interrupted, when there is nothing committed contrary to the true sense and meaning of these articles.

By the eighth article it appears that the possession of Jamaica, the Caymana Isles, the Tortugas, the logwood creeks

in the Bay of Campeachy, the island of Santa Catherina, near the Mosquito shore, Isle Vache, and Providence, all of which were held by the English, was virtually conceded, although the claim to all was not maintained by constant occupancy. Moreover the privateering system, which had been so long carried on under the equivocal authority of commissions and letters of marque, was, by the first articles of the treaty, actually recognised as having been legitimate.

M. l'Abbé de Mably, in the third volume of his excellent work on *Le droit public de l'Europe*, pretty fully develops the views and intentions of the English court with respect to America, commencing with the adventurous reign of Elizabeth, and bringing the narrative down to the year 1755. To this political digest I would refer the inquiring reader.—Tom. i. p. 193.

Note LXV.—p. 283.

In the reign of Henry VII. Sir Edward Poyning passed, in the Irish senate, a law, one material clause of which was to this effect:—That as the people had been harassed by frequent parliaments, in which ordinances were repeatedly made for the sole profit of the chief governor, or of the party which he espoused, no parliament should in future be holden until the King had been informed by the lieutenant and council of the necessity of the same, and of the acts intended to be passed in it, and had previously given his license and approbation under the great seal. Similar trammels did the imbecile ministers of a weak king attempt to impose upon the constitution of Jamaica. But the reign of Charles II. was ever without consistency or system; he loved peace from very apathy, made war from weakness, distrusted his friends, and reigned only from day to day. The subsequent resignation of these arrogant pretensions afforded a triumph as honourable to the patriots of Jamaica, as it was disgraceful to the contrivers of such a system of political tyranny. The difference between the conditions of Jamaica and of Ireland rendered, indeed, such a scheme of legislation altogether visionary. The proximity of the latter country to England afforded the means of communication in a few hours; whereas, from the former it would occupy months. Besides, one was a settled kingdom, the other but an infant colony. Nor can it be imagined that this Irish model of government was, *in principio*,

intended for Englishmen. It was introduced by themselves for the preservation of the English against the Irish faction, and being their own choice, they were bound to obey it. The attempted innovation on the privileges of British subjects who had settled here, under the assurance that their immunities should be held inviolable, could therefore be supported on no grounds either of justice or of policy; and the address which the House of Assembly presented to his Majesty, on the 14th November, 1679, while it evinced the resolute patriotism of his subjects in Jamaica, did honour to their loyalty and allegiance.

The council also addressed the King, joining the assembly in the prayer of their petition against this new form of government; and took that opportunity of apologising for the omission of his Majesty's name in the revenue bill, asserting that it passed their board complete in that respect, and that the Speaker of the house "erased it with his own hand." This address was consented to by the whole council, excepting Colonel Samuel Long, who had been the Speaker alluded to.

Note LXVI.—p. 287.

This extraordinary test was couched in the following words: "Do you submit to the frame of government as it is now established by his Majesty's commission to the Earl of Carlisle?"

A particular account of this interview between the governor and the members of the assembly, is thus detailed by Colonel Beeston, and preserved amongst the curious manuscripts in the council-chamber.

"On the 1st of December, 1678, his excellency, thinking fit to dissolve the assembly then sitting, sent for them; and having past the revenue bill, told them he *did* dissolve them: on which they all offered to go away, but he called them back, and told them that he had something to say: which was, that many things had been said and done in that assembly, which did not seem to tender them such dutiful subjects that he might put his Majesty's trust into their hands; and therefore desired we would give some further manifestation of our obedience: and applied himself to me: 'And, sir, I begin with you first: will you obey the King and his governor, to the new form of government which has been now sent over?' To which I replied, 'My lord, this is a thing so new and so sudden to me, that I desire

some time to consider of it, before I give my answer.' But his excellency said I must do it presently, and so must we all. Then I said, 'My lord, I have ever been, and will ever continue, a faithful subject and servant to his Majesty. I have taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy many times; and I know no other way that the law appoints his Majesty's subjects to make a further manifestation of their duty and obedience to their King, but by this: if there be any law requires more, I will obey it; and, in the mean time, will do my utmost to observe my duty according to those others: more, my lord, I cannot say.' On this his excellency replied upon me, 'Then you will *not* obey the King?' 'Yes, my lord,' said I, 'as long as I live.' But his lordship said, 'You will not obey him according to his new model?' I answered, 'My lord, I do not know what it is; but as far as I know it, I do not like it; therefore cannot, voluntarily—since his Majesty has not commanded it—give my consent to it.' His lordship replied I *did* know it; for I had seen his commission. Yes,—I had; but I had not seen his instructions, which were appendices; and, therefore, I did not know it, and could give no other answer. So I was ordered to be put down on the left hand of the paper, as one not fit to be trusted to serve his Majesty.

"Then his lordship proceeded to ask the rest—some this question: and others only 'Will you obey the King?' according as he pleased to favour some more than others. In this assembly, and the other that followed it, his lordship was pleased, very often, to call them 'fools,' 'asses,' 'beggars,' 'cowards,' and many other appellations: which management they took so ill from a wise lord, considering the capacity they were in, doing their king and country service, that it set their hearts much against him, and did no good to the public."

Note LXVII.—p. 288.

The following are the heads of Colonel Long's impeachment of the Earl of Carlisle.

1st. To prove the Earl of Carlisle imposed a test.

2nd. To prove judges turned out.

3rd. To prove the earl upheld officers in action of fees.

4th. To prove the earl pressed the council to coin or stamp money.

5th. To prove taking of seizures, and encouragement of pirates.

6th. To prove his knowledge of pirates' goods, and allowing them to enter.

7th. To prove the access of pirates to the earl, and his decision of some of their differences.

8th. To prove that he encouraged the privateers, and avowed that they did good, and enriched the island.

Colonel Long, who had come to the island as secretary to the commissions, with the army in 1655, was now the chief justice of the island, and a member of the council; and was justly esteemed by the colonists as the patron of their rights and privileges. The confidence reposed in him made him particularly obnoxious to the Earl of Carlisle; who degraded him from the bench, dismissed him from the council, and exhibited counter charges against him at Whitehall. These Long satisfactorily refuted before the committee of trade and plantations; while the earl, who could be considered only as the weak tool of oppression, failed in the attempt to rescue his own name from the disgrace with which his administration had justly branded it.

Note LXVIII.—p. 291.

The explanatory commission which the discreet conduct and undaunted spirit of the Jamaica patriots at length extorted from the weakness or justice of Charles's ministers, was the result of much deliberation; and was framed upon the report of Lord Chief Justice North. The scheme was derived from the method of making laws in Barbadoes, as settled by the commission of Sir Richard Dutton; and this memorable charter of the Jamaica constitution is couched in the following terms:—

"Charles II., &c. &c. &c.

"To our right trusty, &c. &c. &c.

"Whereas by our royal commission, bearing date the 1st of March, in the thirteenth year of our reign, we, having thought fit to constitute you, Charles, Earl of Carlisle, Captain-general and Governor-in-Chief in and over our Island of Jamaica, and the territories depending thereon; thereby commanding and requiring you, or, in your absence, our deputy-governor or our council, to do and execute all things belonging to the said command, and the trust reposed in you by the said commission, and

the instructions therewith given you, or by further powers and instructions, to be granted or appointed, you under our signet and sign manual, as by our said commission (reference being thereunto had) doth more at large appear: and whereas it is necessary that good and wholesome laws and ordinances be settled and established for the government and support of our island of Jamaica: We do hereby give and grant unto you, full power and authority, with the advice and consent of the said council, from time to time, as need shall require, to summon or call general assemblies of the freeholders and planters within the said island; in manner and form as is now practised in Jamaica. And our will and pleasure is, that the persons thereupon duly elected by the major part of the freeholders of the respective parishes and places, and so returned (having, before their sitting, taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which you shall commissionate fit persons, under the public seal of that island, to administer, and without taking which, none shall be capable of sitting, though elected), shall be called and held the general assembly of our island of Jamaica; and that they, or the major part of them, shall have power and authority, with the advice and consent of yourself and of the council, to make, constitute, and ordain laws, statutes and ordinances, for the public peace, welfare, and good government of the said island, and of the people and inhabitants thereof; and such other as shall resort thereto; and for the benefit of our heirs and successors: which said laws, statutes, and ordinances, are to be (as near as conveniently may be) agreeable to the laws and statutes of our kingdom of England; provided that all such laws, statutes, and ordinances, of what nature or duration whatsoever, be, within three months, or by the first conveyance after the making the same, transmitted to us under the public seal, for our allowance and approbation of them; as also duplicates thereof by the next conveyance: and in case all, or any of them (being not before confirmed by us,) shall, at any time be disallowed, and not approved, and so signified by us, our heirs, or successors, under our or their sign manual or signet, or by order of our or their privy-council, unto you, the said Earl of Carlisle, or to the commander-in-chief of our said island, for the time being, then such or so many of them as shall be so disallowed, and not approved, shall from thenceforth cease, determine, and be utterly void and of none effect: any thing to the

contrary thereof notwithstanding. And to the end nothing may be passed or done in our said island by the said council or assembly, to the prejudice of us, our heirs, or successors, we will and ordain that you, the said Charles, Earl of Carlisle, shall have and enjoy a negative voice in the making or passing of all laws, statutes and ordinances as aforesaid; and that you shall and may likewise, from time to time, as you shall judge it necessary, dissolve all general assemblies as aforesaid; anything in our commission bearing date as aforesaid, to the contrary hereof notwithstanding. And our will and pleasure is, that in case of our death or absence from our said island, our deputy-governor, for the time being, exercise and enjoy all and singular the power and authorities hereby granted unto you, or intended to be granted you, the said Charles, Earl of Carlisle; and in case he likewise happen to die, or be absent from our said island, we do hereby authorise and empower our council of Jamaica to execute the powers hereby given you, until we shall declare our further pleasure therein.

"Given at our Court at Whitehall, this 3rd day of November, in the thirty-second year of our reign."

It did not arrive in Jamaica, until after the Earl had left it.

Note LXIX.—p. 294.

Amongst the curious manuscripts which render valuable the archives of the council-chamber of Jamaica, there is one drawn by the hand of Colonel Hender Molesworth, in the year 1682; upon the occasion of passing the revenue bill void of restrictions. It is in the form of a dialogue between two members of the assembly; and the familiarity of the style affords a striking picture of the simplicity of those infant legislators, at the same time that it evinces the consistent integrity of their arguments and resolves.

Note LXX.—p. 297.

It is greatly to be lamented that the few writers who have bestowed any labour upon exploring the interesting, yet obscure paths of Hebrew history, have expatiated chiefly upon the transactions of early ages; and that no one has endeavoured to throw such light upon the more recent condition of this miraculous people as might tend to obliterate vulgar prejudices and

remove unnecessary political disabilities. The actual condition of the Jews in the different states of Europe, with respect to their commerce and civil rights, their universal intrusion, and their extraordinary pre-eminence in money transactions, are subjects of investigation than which few are more tempting, yet none less tried. The field of literature would, indeed, appear, though erroneously, to have been totally abandoned by them, and an unconnected, yet uniform, system of pecuniary calculation, to have usurped the dominion over all the more liberal resources of their minds. So extraordinary are their abilities in commerce, that even those oriental nations which ever held them in utter contempt, the Greeks and Armenians, were obliged to have recourse to them in their exchanges.

The extensive field for the exercise of their predominant passion which the New World now opens to them in the golden territories of Columbia, and the regions of the new republic, may perhaps concentrate the intellectual, as well as the physical strength of this marvellous tribe in a land where prejudices are not so rooted, as nearer to the scene of its miraculous dispersion *. Yet such an union can scarcely be expected, either from our knowledge of their habits, or the curse under which they wander: for if they had possessed the smallest portion of enterprise or courage, they would long ago, in the immense solitudes of this western world, have established an independent state like the Jesuits and Pennsylvanians: and thus, in another hemisphere, have continued their ancient adoration of the God of Israel, without submitting themselves to that humiliation or servitude which reproaches them throughout ancient Christendom. It might still, however, be a project less impracticable than that of Langallerie, who proposed to concentrate the Jewish nation in the island of Cyprus, after appropriating the treasures of Loretto to defray the expense of this extraordinary theocracy. The pillage would certainly have been much to the taste of the

* Benjamin de Tudelle, the famous Jew, who traversed, on foot, the greater part of the Old World about the year 1173, made an observation which, if correct, deserves attention, as it would prove the influence of climate on the features of mankind. He says that the Jews who had fled into the provinces of southern Asia and Africa, were all metamorphosed, more or less, by the heat of the country; that those of Abyssinia were become as dark as the indigenous inhabitants, from whom they could be distinguished by their marked physiognomy alone.

German Sanhedrim, which might have imagined that, in possessing itself of this rich collection of jewelry, it was only obeying the command of Moses, to carry away the jewels of the Egyptians. In the treaty which Langallerie concluded at the Hague, with the envoy of Turkey, this projected robbery was actually mentioned; and the report so alarmed the court of Vienna, that the devoted spoil was removed. The adventurer, however, died very peaceably in the dungeons of Saint Paul, submitting to the self-imposed pangs of starvation, when he found that the Jews did not rise *en masse* to release him, as those of Hircania had done to deliver their Messiah, Sabatai-Zevi, confined as a lunatic in Constantinople. But these heroes were easily calmed by thirty dragoons, and submitted to an enormous fine for an attempted display of a quality which the Hebrew nation, as a body, certainly does not possess. After subsisting 1991 years as a powerful people, it has now, during eleven centuries, been meekly bleeding beneath the rage of sanguinary and persecuting tyrants; it has borne every variety of barbarously cruel legislation; it has been plundered and tortured, while the only glimmering of a reasonable pretext is, that the Talmud permits them "to rob Christians, who are to be regarded as wild beasts; pushed over a precipice, when found on its verge; killed and cursed every morning." But it is not surprising that the persecuted Jews should retain these words in their book of discipline, when the Christians gave them such ample cause for retaliation. They have even been accused as cannibals; and Flavien Joseph, with ill-judged zeal, enters into so elaborate a defence of them in that particular, that it would almost induce a belief that the Greek Apion had reason.

Perhaps the question, at the present moment, is, whether, in the existing state of Europe, the cradle of prejudice, and the nursery of fanaticism, their claims upon the Christian world could be fairly canvassed, or the truth fully told. Yet, in a literary point of view, the past history of the Jews offers a curious and rich mine of knowledge; were it explored with a reference to their civil rights, their commerce, and their literature. The first head would present details of a horribly interesting nature; for we must feel that the ancient and monumental religion of the Hebrews suggests awful images and associations, and inspires a mysterious but reverential feeling. The mere antiquity of its institutions, and its histories and

modes of faith, is so impressive, that the remoteness of the race and name almost overpowers the sense of youth in the individual; and we commonly associate age with the very name. The commercial history of the Jews might also possess novelty and importance: but it would be the light thrown upon their literature which would chiefly interest; for it is a literature scarcely known to have existed. Yet it once flourished; in Spain particularly; and even so late as the fifteenth century, mingled, but not confounded, with Arabic learning, and producing many excellent works in medical science, ethics, and poetry. In fact, it may be asserted with truth, that Jewish literature, during the middle age, contributed, not a little, to the revival of letters, and even to the reformation itself. It was in those times that Moise-Ben-Maimon, Abben-Ezra, and Abben Tybbon flourished. The commentaries of Abben-Ezra on the Scriptures were printed in the famous bibles of Basle and Venice; and his work, called Jesud Mora, is still in repute. But as the library of Alexandria was burnt, the better to preserve the Alcoran; and the historical tablets of Mexico shared the same fate, for the preservation of Christianity; so the Jews, universally despised, and universally fanatical, unsociable by their religion, and incurious by their habits, suffered the destruction of many literary works of their nation; especially one which is much to be regretted—the last copy of Toldos Jescut, which was burnt during the persecution of the infamous Pfeffercorn. It was pretended, indeed, that a copy was afterwards found, from which counterfeit manuscript a book, with the same title, is still extant.

Perhaps the New World may once more call forth the intellectual faculties of this dispersed tribe, which have been so long chilled by the persecuting spirit of the old; and afford it some better asylum than it has possessed there. It is a curious fact that, during the late forced trade, the Spanish-American merchants invariably resorted to Jew consignees. The laws of Jamaica have long been favourable to the reception of all foreigners, inasmuch as they admit the naturalization of every alien: and the Jews, at an early period, settled here; attracted no less by the vast treasures which the buccaneers brought into circulation, than by the peculiarly mild disposition of the government towards them; for in some of the other colonies they were virtually proscribed by the admission of slave evidence

against them in courts of law. Indeed, during the first seven years of the British occupation, the fanatical spirit of the times somewhat discouraged their residence even here. From the time of William the Conqueror, to the eighteenth year of Edward I., the Jews had been, to all intents and purposes, as absolutely the slaves and property of the King, as the negro slaves now are of their masters *. In the latter reign they had been totally expelled the realm, and were never re-admitted until the usurpation of Cromwell, when they dispersed themselves over the American colonies. Still, however, they were looked upon, in Jamaica, as dangerous intruders, until, in the year 1663, the powerful influence of Sir John Davidson obtained the naturalization of a German Jew, named Watson, with others who were speciously sent for the avowed purpose of showing the colonists those mines which they affirmed the Spaniards had formerly employed them to work in the Healthshire hills.

In the year 1681, however, the legislature found it necessary to restrain them from their favourite practise of debasing and clipping the coin: for they soon embraced that craft which in all ages has marked the character of their nation. The lure held out in those golden days of plunder, to the most unworthy of the tribe, for the commission of such depredations, induced the council of the island to solicit an edict from the crown for their total expulsion, couching its reasons under the capricious pretext, that "they were the descendants from the crucifiers of the blessed Jesus." It is needless to say that this illiberal petition was indignantly rejected: yet his Majesty continued his assent to the law which levied an annual and variable tax upon them,—a tribute which in the year 1682, was assessed in the sum of seven hundred and fifty pounds; and as their number and opulence increased, was raised to one thousand pounds.

The justice of this impost, which, by royal command †, was afterwards argued in the assembly, was founded on the fact that the Jews of Jamaica were a very wealthy people, acquiring their

* In point of fact, much more so; for the sovereign attached not only the person, but the property of the Jew; of which we have several memorable instances,—especially that of the Jew of Bristol, in the reign of John. The peculium of the West Indian slave has ever been held sacred by British humanity.

† Journals of Assembly, vol. iii., page 571.

fortunes with little risk or trouble, and disposing of them in such ways as to escape the levy of the usual taxes. Exempted, as they still are, from many public duties and consequent expenses, to which other classes of the community are liable, and their way of life contributing little or nothing to the stability or strength of the colony, but rather tending to encourage the slave population in dishonesty, and the white in intemperance, by an abject retail trade, it was argued that they would, but for this tax, become distinguished and evil examples of exemption from that maxim generally established,—that every individual who receives benefit and protection from a government, should contribute some proportionate share to the maintenance of it.

In the year 1684, they had been permitted to erect synagogues, and to perform worship according to their own ritual; yet the number of Jews who then possessed landed estates in Jamaica did not exceed six; the great body of them being employed in a low but lucrative retail trade. Still, however, petitions against the tribute were annually preferred by them, and rejected by the assembly; and the grievance of which they most loudly complained, that of being debarred the privilege of purchasing white servants, remained likewise unredressed.

The disability of the Hebrew nation to vote for representatives in a Christian parliament, seems to be founded, not as is generally supposed, upon any imperfection in their titles as freeholders, but merely on their inability to take the oath of qualification as such; which oath must be taken on the sacred books of the Evangelists, there being no saving clause in law, except in favour of the Quakers. And being a transient people, every where rather dependant on the power of the chief magistrate, than under the laws and government of the state in which they reside, (a case peculiarly marked in Jamaica, where they formerly used to express their gratitude for toleration by a present to the governor,) it was apprehended that by admitting them to vote, too much influence might be given to the executive, and that the Christians might be outvoted by the Jews: or, at any rate, that each religious interest would be so embodied and united against the other, by the operation of fanaticism, and the irritation of contested predominance, that the peace of the country would be endangered at every election.

But it was not until the election of the first assembly of Queen Anne, in the year 1702, that the Jews seriously insisted

upon their right of voting, and petitioned to that effect. Upon debate, their petition and remonstrance were declared to be "erroneous, false, and scandalous;" and it was even proposed to imprison them for their presumption; an intolerant measure which was commuted for an increased tribute of two thousand pounds; to be assessed, however, by persons of their own nation. To this unnecessary severity they were afterwards indebted for the royal clemency which exempted them from all peculiar impost.

In the year 1711, the council was inclined to admit the Jews to a participation in the elective franchise; and, with that intent, amended the bill which excluded them from the assembly. But the amendment was disagreed to, and eventually abandoned. Twenty-eight years afterwards, a committee of the house recommended that such Jews as were planters should be exempted from the tribute; but that measure was also rejected. This brought matters to a crisis, and produced a petition to the King, signed by ninety-one of their nation. This petition came back, accompanied by an additional instruction to Governor Trelawney, requiring him to refuse his assent to "any act whereby any tax should be imposed on the Jews, as Jews only, over and above what was laid upon other subjects." Still, however, the assembly insisted on the usual impost; and, although the reasons for non-compliance were transmitten to his Majesty, the tax was again ordered to be discontinued. The house still remained obstinate; the Jews were again heard at its bar, by council; and the forbidden clause would have been again inserted, had they not, with a spirit of humility and moderation, which did them honour, declined being the cause of a rupture between his Majesty's government, which supported, and his colonial legislature, which oppressed them, by voluntarily raising the sum of a thousand pounds towards the public expenditure of that year.

In the next succeeding session, the tribute was again attempted, which caused a short prorogation; and it was thenceforth and ever after abandoned. One of the historians of Jamaica conceives that the interest of the governor had been *purchased* by the Jews, to obtain the royal instruction in their favour; but there seems no reason for such an illiberal reflection upon either party: for the measure certainly bore the appearance of a partial proceeding; while the intemperate man-

ner and intolerant arguments with which it was pursued, called for notice and redress. Their gratitude for so signal a mark of royal favour, was long afterwards evinced by a handsome present to each succeeding governor, and to his secretary; consisting, it has been said, of a *pistole pie.*

Rising in opulence by their own industry, and the distresses which occasionally assailed the planters, whose pecuniary necessities they not unfrequently reaped a rich harvest from, the Jews of Jamaica began to entertain an idea that they were hardly dealt by, when they found themselves excluded from those seats in the legislature which were occupied by men whom the reverses of fortune had put into their power. In the year 1750, one of their nation, whose vote had been rejected, was supported in his petition to the assembly for admission "to all the privileges and advantages of the rest of his Majesty's natural-born subjects." And this supposed right was founded upon an act of the British parliament passed eight years before. Some of their nation, wiser or more prudent than the rest, disclaimed all participation in the application, and declared themselves satisfied with the tranquillity they enjoyed, and their unwillingness to inflame the jealousy, or incur the displeasure of their fellow-subjects. Their unfounded claims were, therefore, unanimously opposed in every instance; counter petitions poured in from the country parishes; and measures were adopted to anticipate any application or appeal which might be made to his Majesty.

During the intestine commotions which shook the island ten years afterwards, they had nearly forfeited the good opinion which their returning good sense and moderation has established in their favour, by making religious scruples their pretext for not appearing under arms on their sabbaths, fasts, and festivals; while they found no such difficulty in keeping their retail liquor-shops open on those days.

Since that period, however, no question of privilege or immunity has been seriously agitated by them; until within the last few years, when the right of voting on their freeholds was again urged upon the attention of the country, and on similar grounds. It was disposed of in a similar way: although a large subscription was raised to prosecute their imaginary claims. But perceiving the numerous difficulties which have assailed, and the imminent dangers which still impend over the decayed colony, the Jews of Jamaica, amongst whom are disseminated virtues

which would do honour to a better faith,—nobly forbear to increase its troubles, or distract attention from their reparation; they sink their own galling yet equivocal claims, in a moderate and becoming line of conduct, which deserves well of their fellow-colonists, and offers an example of such excellence as might shame the boasted pre-eminence of other more enlightened, but far less oppressed, subjects of the realm.

Note LXXI.—p. 309.

In the absence of those official documents which were destroyed by the earthquake, the following assessment, founded on a scale of properties in the year 1693, for the purpose of levying 450*l.* to support an agent in England, will show, pretty accurately, the relative progress which the sixteen parishes had then made in cultivation and resources.

	£.	s.	d.
Port Royal	49	10	10
Saint Andrew	52	17	5
Saint Thomas in the East	27	10	0
Saint David	16	11	0
Saint George	3	15	6
Kingston	19	5	0
Saint Catherine	50	16	3
Saint Dorothy	25	3	1
Vere	47	1	8
Clarendon	42	1	8
Saint Thomas in the Vale	29	9	0
Saint John	15	8	3
Saint Mary	11	13	7
Saint Ann	7	2	6
Saint Elizabeth	51	6	8
Saint James	2	16	8

Note LXXII.—p. 311.

In the political transition of the British colony of Jamaica from the military rule of a conquered province, to the civil establishment of a colonial government, it became absolutely necessary to afford the executive such deliberative aid as was required in numerous points of administration, distinct from legislation, and unconnected with the representation of the people. The consequence was, that Lord Windsor received, in the year

1662, positive instructions to appoint a privy-council; but the nomination of its members was left to his own discretion,—providing only, that his secretary should be one; and thus it remained until Lord Vaughan opened his commission, on 14th March, 1675.

In process of time, however, the very natural desire of assimilating itself to the Upper House of the British parliament influenced this assistant-board to the measure of separating itself from the governor, and of framing itself into a third, independent, *legislative* estate. Some difficulties it became necessary to surmount; and some time was required to reconcile all parties to the important innovation. Accordingly, we find that a multitude of laws were passed between the years 1660 and 1681—that is, before the publication of the printed code,—a great proportion of which were enacted by the governor and assembly only.

Yet it is not easy to discover the exact period, or the precise occasion upon which the governor and his privy-council first separated; though there is reason to believe that this amicable divorce occurred in 1688, during the presidency of Sir Francis Watson, who was nominated by the crown. Being the first of that body so nominated, or upon whom the administration had devolved after it had felt its consequence and power, he probably thought it more suitable to his newly-acquired dignity, and peculiar royal elevation, to mix no longer with his brethren below. Thus, something approaching to a constitution of three estates, was carelessly effected and tacitly admitted. But it was not until the year 1713, that the speech of the governor, opening a session, was addressed to the "Gentlemen of the Council." Until that period it had always been the speech of the governor in (or, and) council.

That it was originally intended to establish, in any of the colonial governments *three* distinct, independent, legislative powers, acting on the spot, and with the view of assimilating such a form of government to that of the parent state, cannot for a moment be imagined. For while the crown retains its constitutional right of annulling all acts of the provincial legislatures; and while the privilege of a negative remains likewise vested in its governing representative, independent of the council, there are, in point of fact, *four* distinct estates existing, instead of *three:* a political anomaly which could hardly have

been premeditated; and certainly not sanctioned by any precedent. In the year 1677, the House of Assembly took the alarm; and, by omitting the King's name in several bills, attempted to exclude the crown from this privilege of a double negative. But it was a vain effort.

The privy-council of Jamaica from some such irregular origin, or, perhaps, in concurrence with the inclinations of a governor, who, finding himself at times under the unpleasant necessity of rejecting popular bills, had gradually withdrawn himself, undertook, and has since confirmed itself in the exercise of the two very incompatible functions of a *privy* board, dependant on the governor; and a *legislative* board also dependant on the governor, although acting distinctly without him. Royal authority has now recognised the innovation, and sanctioned the interposition of this third branch; but being supported by no act, either of parliament or assembly, to justify its original claim, it must necessarily be inferred that whatever powers the privy-council may have exercised of that anomalous kind, must have arisen solely from its own act, in having gradually assumed and assimilated the usages and privileges of the House of Lords, as a distinct legislature, after the governors had ceased to advise with it concerning the purport and tendency of bills passed by the assembly. Thus, by a tolerated usage, it has gained a sort of prescriptive title to its claims; and if it be shown that the exercise of these pretensions may be, as they undoubtedly are, absolutely necessary to the welfare and safety of the community, the question of their constitutional legality merges in their utility. In fact, the colony gained a very important point by this political separation of its governor from his council; for, by thus acquiring the semblance of three distinct estates in its government, it stood alone, and secured the immediate operation and full force of its laws, without waiting for the Trans-atlantic confirmation of them by the crown.

Having thus established itself—imperfectly it must be confessed—as a distinct branch of the legislature, the council, clothed with patrician power, proceeded to enter its dissents and protests, with all the pomp and privilege of an upper house. It assumed a distinct negative voice—originated bills—amended some—rejected others—appointed its own committees*—de-

* As late as the year 1694, the governor appointed the committees of the council. See "Journals of Assembly," vol. iv. p. 388.

manded conferences, examined on oath, received petitions of grievance, and, in short, interposed its power in every department wherein the House of Assembly was concerned, not even excepting money-bills, in the amendment of which it asserted at least an equal right. And this claim, though illegitimate in its origin, without precedent in its principle, and equivocal in its application, has yet obtained a prescriptive title to its foundation, not only by its recognition, but by its actual confirmation from the source of all authority. In a letter from the lords of trade to the governor, dated 21st June, 1714, it is expressly declared that—

"As to the assembly's pretence that the council have no right to amend money-bills, it is groundless, and will not be allowed of here. They sit as an assembly, and are part of the legislature, as also the council, by virtue of a clause in her Majesty's commission, without which they could not be elected and sit as an assembly; and consequently their assuming a pretended right, no ways inherent in them, is a violation of the constitution of Jamaica, and is derogatory to her Majesty's royal prerogative. If, therefore, they should at any time insist upon that ill-grounded pretence, your lordship may inform them that, as they must not assume to themselves the rights and privileges of the House of Commons of Great Britain, so such measures will be taken here as may be effectual to assert her Majesty's undoubted prerogative in that island."

Armed with such a powerful mandate, and nerved by ambition, the council took its position, determined to contest the ground which it had thus possessed itself of. Nor did the assembly want patriots who were equally resolute in maintaining its inherent privileges. Four years afterwards, during the government of Sir Nicholas Lawes, the question was again agitated, and again met by the council with a fresh clause from his Majesty's instructions:—

"And whereas the General Assembly of our island of Jamaica has of late assumed to themselves the sole right of framing money-bills, refusing to let the council alter or amend the same, you are to take notice that our council, as such, are a more ancient part of, and have still an equal share in, the legislature with the assembly, who have no right to meet, or to debate upon any matters whatever, but by virtue of our commission: that our said council have frequently altered money-bills in former

times, without opposition of the assembly; and we are so far from looking upon this pretended right to be inherent in the said assembly, that we esteem it to be a violation of the accustomed usage and constitution of Jamaica. Wherefore you are hereby required to support our council in their just right in this particular*."

This royal decree in its favour seemed to promise the council a victorious result; but when it came down to the house, and the question was put upon the point of submission to its mandate, it became apparent that the constitutional right of the people to tax themselves by their own representatives, would never be relinquished in Jamaica, any more than in England. The assembly returned to the council its reasons and remonstrance, which were literally *kicked* out of the chamber by Gregory, one of its indignant and disappointed members. This was an insult, which, though duly resented and atoned for, left a wound that neither party was willing to open anew, so that the question happily slept during ten years. And when at length the council conceived that the intemperate act had been forgotten, or was awakened by the apprehension that its claims had laid dormant too long to resume its ground, it advanced a step beyond it, and asserted its right to apply the public money, in the case of gratuities, to reward the services of Commodore Saint Loe and Captain Grey; threatening at the same time that, "as they had a power to reward such persons as merit well of the public, they would not trouble the house with any further *recommendations*."

This assumption was too much for the most patient patriot in that house to bear, and was met by a resolution, "never to confer with the council on that subject; that being the sole, separate, and inherent right of the assembly."

In the year 1757, the council was called upon to assert his Majesty's special appointment to act "in distinct capacities as part of the legislative body, a council of state, and judge of the last resort in the island, in all causes of common law, where writs of error lie;" and shortly afterwards its power and consequence induced some of its captious members to take offence at the parliamentary proceeding of the assembly, in sending up for

* This instruction was again quoted in the year 1733, and it seems to be the charter on which the council still rests its claim *formaliter*.

their concurrence a prepared address to his Majesty. The house, however, now finding that the council was too near the crown to be combated, merely on the futile question of pomp and privilege, acknowledged that it *was* "assimilated to the House of Lords of Great Britain;" and this tardy acknowledgment completed the recognition of the third estate.

Many questions of privilege have been since made the subject of contention between the two bodies; and where claims rest on such equivocal rights, and are raised so high on foundations so fragile as are those of the legislative council, such contests must necessarily and often occur. Nor is their determination of any consequence to the country. For instance, of what importance is the decision of the right of proposing the time of conferences, which the council asserted to be solely their's? Yet, in matters of moment the decisions of that board have ever been marked with such sound judgment, and founded on principles so eminently constitutional, that they have seldom called for the interference of the crown. One important exception, however, must be made in the case of an appeal against one of its resolutions in the year 1757,—not to sit after the publication of martial law, when a cardinal declaration of the crown established "that the ordinary course of law and justice is not suspended nor stopped, any further than is absolutely necessary to answer the then military service of the public, and the exigencies of the province."

Note LXXIII.—p. 326.

It was in the latter end of October, 1698, that the Scots colony at Darien was first established, and early in the following year the ambassador-extraordinary of Spain delivered a memorial against it to King William, on the ground that the settlement was made in the very heart of the Spanish domains, and was therefore an infringement, contrary to the spirit of the alliance between the two crowns. Although, in 1509, the court of Spain had nominally usurped the Darien territory, and divided its government between Alfonzo d'Ojoda and Diego Nicuessa; yet the attempt of these rival governors had failed, and the natives still maintained their freedom. The crown of Spain, therefore, had no kind of title to that province; and, in fact, the Indians there had long maintained war against it, and had assisted the Jamaica pirates in their attack on Panama. The Darien princes welcomed the arrival of the Scots, and pressed them to settle in

their country. Yet this memorial, presented to a monarch who had saved the Netherlands, and prevented his Catholic Majesty from being insulted on his throne, occasioned the colony, although established by an act of the Scotch parliament, to be not only discountenanced, but treated as the refuge of rebels, and the haunt of pirates.

Some of the Darien colonists afterwards realised large estates in Jamaica. Colonels Guthrie and Blair were of the number. The latter, a surgeon by profession, died custos of Spanish Town in the year 1728. Colonel Dowdall also enjoyed a considerable estate, and Colonel Campbell died in 1740, custos of the parish of Saint Elizabeth.

Note LXXIV.—p. 343.

Sir Nicholas Lawes, in his speech, opening the assembly of 1719, endeavoured to set at rest this contested point of adjournment.

"I am commanded," said he, "to signify to you, that his Majesty has been informed that some assemblies have assumed the power of adjourning at pleasure, without leave from the governor; which being highly detrimental to the royal prerogative, and encroaching on the rights of the crown, I must tell you, in the King's own words, 'that you have no right to adjourn yourselves otherwise than *de die in diem*, excepting Sundays and holydays, without permission from your governor."

Note LXXV.—p. 345.

The following bill, at the first-rate tavern in Kingston, in the year 1716, cannot, however, be estimated as indicative of much commercial distress:—

	Bits.
Dinner for one	5
Small-beer	1
Bottle of ale	4
Quart of rum-punch	4
Coffee	1
Lodging	8
	23 bits, or 14*s.* 4½*d.*

A fashionable breakfast, a little earlier in the same century, and charged at about the same sum by a landlord "in the good city of Chester," is thus politely noted:—

" Breakfast provisions for Syr Goefrey Walton, the good Ladie Walton, and their fair daughter Gabriel :—Three pounds of saved salmon, two pounds of boiled mutton and onions, three slices of porke, six red herrings, six pounds of leavened bread, one choppin of mead, five choppins of strong beer."

The following estimate of the revenue and expenditure of Jamaica was read in the year 1723, according to a medium of seven years :—

To the fortifications ..	£1250	0	0	By quit-rents.....	£1460	14	3
To the orders in council	6131	14	4	By impost.....	2966	2	1
To waiters' salary.....	120	0	0	By additional ditto ..	1162	16	0
To commissions	400	0	0	By fines, forfeitures, and escheats.....	487	13	3
				By wine-licenses	174	10	10
				By gunpowder	107	2	1
	£7901	14	4		£6358	18	6

Note LXXVI.—p. 355.

Although the first settlers in Jamaica had a clear and indisputable right to the benefit of any English statute in force at the time of its conquest, yet they conceived a very vague idea of this claim. They excluded a statute of Henry VIII. for regulating the trial of pirates, while they received into use the statutes of frauds, and the *habeas corpus* act, though these were passed long after the conquest, and did not, in point of fact, affect the island. They had found the *habeas corpus*, by common law, not quite so effectual a protection to liberty, and they therefore preferred the other. But their claim to the last-mentioned statutes was opposed both in the island and at home; and although their courts of justice and their juries had grounded many decisions, and given many verdicts upon them, yet whenever the question came by appeal before the king, it was declared that neither these nor any other English statutes passed subsequent to the conquest of Jamaica, unless specially providing it, did extend to or bind that island.

The people here were not well pleased with an opinion which tended to impeach a multitude of judgments affecting large properties, which judgments had rested upon these statutes, and threatened to preclude them entirely from those advantages which their fellow-subjects in England derived from them. Besides, they found that they could not get any acts of assembly, containing similar provisions, confirmed by the crown. The

reason of this refusal was grounded on their not passing a law for establishing a perpetual revenue. They were determined not to burthen their posterity with an oppressive tax, which they apprehended might, as in other islands, be misapplied, and so become inadequate to the support of the government, and the maintenance of the fortifications, for which uses alone it was demanded. They cautiously, therefore, limited the duration of their money-bills to one, or, at most, to two years, while the crown, equally inflexible, refused not only to perpetuate the bills they framed, adopting these desirable statutes, but even withheld its declaration, giving local validity to the laws and statutes of England.

Note LXXVII.—p. 358.

This power, exercised by President Ayscough, to dissolve the assembly, has been considered unconstitutional. But, by the explanatory commission of Charles II., the president of the council, assuming the government of the colony upon the demise or absence of a governor, or of a lieutenant-governor, had authority to dissolve the house, though he is now, in express words, restrained by the king's instructions from exercising such power. (See *Note* LXVIII.) By the laws of Great Britain, the king must be present in his parliament, either personally or by his representative; and the manner in which he is represented is, by a commission under the great seal, directed to certain persons, and empowering them to open the parliament, to prorogue, or to dissolve it. His Majesty's commission is so directed to his governor or lieutenant-governor of Jamaica, but never to the president of the council.

THE END OF THE NOTES.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

SECTION I.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON SLAVERY.

Part First.

FEW subjects have caused more controversial discussion, and none given rise to more fruitless research, than "the origin of slavery."

Puffendorf affirms, that it was established "par un libre consentement des parties, et par un contrat de faire, afin qu'on nous donne"—*facio ut des*:—but it is needless to say that Puffendorf cannot produce this original contract to support a position he so confidently assumes. It has also been supposed that slavery originated with those wild and violent persons who existed in the earliest stages of the world, and whom our biblical translators have named giants*. Others again would identify the origin of slavery with that of the negro race, affirming that its institution immediately followed the curse denounced by his father upon Ham; from whom, it has been supposed, the Africans are descended. Yet the very word which Noah used to signify a slave was the same which had been applied in a similar

* The giants of the scriptures were, doubtless, men remarkable rather for the enormity of their conduct than that of their stature; which, though perhaps it somewhat exceeded the ordinary diminsions, did not approach to that which some have imagined. M. l'Abbé Zilladet pretends that nations of huge men actually existed; and M. Henrion adds a kind of chronological ladder by which the human stature descended from Adam to Christ. According to his estimate, Adam was one hundred and twenty-three feet nine inches high, and Eve one hundred and eighteen feet nine inches. Hence he deduces a natural proportion between the sexes; and assures us that Noah had degenerated so as to become twenty feet shorter than Adam.

sense, that is, as a distinction from an hired servant, long before the deluge; an evident proof that slavery had its origin previous to that event. Upon the hypothesis of this origin of slavery, however, it is that Father Ambrose makes this absurd observation:—"Ante vini inventionem inconcussa libertas: non esset hodie servitus, si ebrietas non fuisset."

Again, it has been affirmed, "ab homine, et pro vitio, introducta est servitus; sed libertas a Deo hominis est indita naturæ. Quare ipsa ab homine sublata, semper redire gliscit, ut facit omne quod libertate naturali privetur*." Others have imagined that it grew out of ancient time, with the constitutions of nations; "fiunt etiam servi liberi homines captivitate de jure gentium," and not by law of nature: that when mankind multiplied, private right was invaded, and battles ensued; it flowed naturally from the sources of humanity and reason, that none should kill another in cold blood; but that he who was taken prisoner should remain in service and bound to his taker for ever. And such were called "SERVI;" quia servabantur à dominis, et non occidebantur—et non a serviendo†.

That slavery might have its origin in war, is possible; and this etymology of the word *servus* cannot, perhaps, be controverted; but, that the most abject servitude, and even the traffic in men existed long before the Latin language or Roman name was heard of, admits of no doubt. The etymology of the word *slave* has indeed been deemed obscure and imperfect. The term is certainly not of Hebrew or Oriental extraction; neither seems there any affinity between it and the δουλος of the Greeks, or the *servus* of the Romans. But the word *esclave*, from whence is immediately derived the English term *slave*, has been in use ever since the ninth century, perhaps much earlier; for it was employed by those bishops of Oriental France who were rich in Sclavonian captives. Ermagaut, the Archbishop of Narbonne,

* Fortesc. c. 42.

† Coke upon Littleton. The common phrase, *to give quarter*, had originally a meaning somewhat similar; *a quarter* of his pay was given by the conquered soldier to redeem him from death or captivity.

bequeathed to Bishop Fredelon his slave Anaph, *Anaphum Slavonium*. And it is probable, that this word *Slavonius* had then been three hundred years in use; for the inhabitants of Slava, a country so named from a native word in the Polonian tongue, signifying *laus, gloria*, which formed the termination of their most illustrious names, issued from their northern haunts with hordes of those poor hardy barbarians, the kindred tribes of Wallachians and Servians, and pouring down upon the provinces of the Roman empire, overspread all the territories between the Euxine and the Adriatic, particularly Illyria and Dalmatia. The term *schiavitu* was then applied to the misfortune of falling into their hands, while *schiavi* designated those who were their captives. These barbarians were afterwards subdued by the Goths, under Alaric and Rhadagasius, in the beginning of the fifth century; and many of them were sold into captivity amongst the various countries of Europe; multitudes falling into the hands of the church in Oriental France, where they retained the name till the distinctions of servi and slavi * were lost in the Celtic language.

The confusion of the Σεϐλοι, or Servians, with the Latin servi, is familiar and remarkable; and thus a word, originally† signifying a state of honour and dignity, was, like the Getæ and Syri of the ancient Romans, extended to general use. It afterwards descended to the modern languages, and even to the style of the last Byzantines‡, in a sense indicative of the most abject state of human depression.

But, in tracing the probable origin of personal servitude, there seems no necessity for having recourse either to wars,

* Borghini, in his *Discorsi*, makes no distinction whatever between the servi and the schiavi: "sotto dure condizioni e quasi servi, che noi diremo schiavi, che questo importa la parola Latina." The name which the modern nations of the Slavonian race assume is that of slavenzi, or slasvin, that is to say, the illustrious.

In the old Gothic, or Saxon, the word thral signified a slave; but antiquarians affirm that the term thane bore a different sense from the Latin servus, being only applied to a free servant of high condition; in which sense thane and vassal are held to mean the same thing.

† Jordan de Originibus Sclavicis, pars. 1, p. 40; and pars 4, p. 101.

‡ See the Greek and Latin Glossaries of Ducange.

conquests, despotism, or violence; for, besides the fact that the obligations and the dependencies of our nature are very nearly allied to servitude, and might have even suggested the grievous abuses which sometimes constitute it, that state would almost inevitably accompany the practice of polygamy,—a political license permitted in ages long before the deluge. The scriptures, it is true, afford but one example in the person of Lamech; but we may thence conclude that it was commonly tolerated, if not universally sanctioned. In those early ages of the world, the husband actually purchased the woman destined to be his future companion, either by gifts to herself, or by the services which he rendered to her parents; and thus he acquired a requited and indisputable controul over her person, her services, and her property.

The history of even later ages furnishes abundant examples of the same custom amongst many nations—some at this moment in existence. The natives of India, Greece, Spain, and Germany, formerly *bought* their wives*; and at this day the Chinese, the Tartars, the inhabitants of Tonquin, of Pegu, the Turks, the natives of Transylvania, the Moors of Africa, and the savages of America, marry solely on the same principle†.

To this usage in ancient times may surely then be traced the very natural origin of personal slavery. The right of possession, in favour of which mankind framed the earliest laws, suggested the necessity of a perfect legal power, an unreserved dominion over every species of property—and it compelled even Love himself to resign his torch into the hands of servitude, thus naturalizing the subjection of those who were created, if not upon an equality with man, at least to be a fostered companion through life. And there is, happily, a fondness in woman's heart planted there by nature, which makes her insensible to this mild, but real, subjection of her state.

* Strabo, l. 15, p. 1036, and l. 3, p. 251; also Tacitus de Moribus Germ. c. 18.

† Marc Paul, l. 1, c. 49, Voyages de la Boulaye, p. 411; Casaub. in not. ad Strab. p. 231; Mœurs des Sauvages, tom. i. p. 565.

——————There is
A self-devotedness in woman's heart
That has no place in man's.—A man may love,
Aye, yield his life, his fortune, as the Roman
Once gave the world for his Egyptian queen,
The dark-eyed beauty; but not *his* the faith,
Gentle, confiding, tried with chance, and change,
Yet still the same; vowed to the grave, the absent,
And to the false.—There is but one such love!
Yes! man can leave his heart's religion,
And kneel apostate to some novel creed——
But woman!——never!

This fond attachment, or, in other words, this original servitude, of the weaker sex, became the bond and seal of the social contract; and the female entered not into the tent or cabin of her husband, but as a constituent part of his property, over which he had an uncontrolled and unlimited authority; while the number of his wives increased his supremacy and enlarged his rule. The fate of the mother naturally governed that of her offspring, over whom the father acquired the same proprietary, with even increased power; and from this indigenous germ, this conceded submission, naturally sprang a mild and tender species of servitude, confined to the alliance of blood and assuaged by the feelings of affinity.

But when this kindred servitude became extended in endless ramifications, subject to the passions of man, nurtured by wars, and fostered by despotism, it changed its nature and its name, and *slavery* attained a rank and monstrous growth. It spread its pestilential influence over the face of a polluted earth, and increased in corruption as it receded in distance from its original root. Like a baneful weed, it has, however, been rendered innoxious, and finally extirpated wherever the people have become enlightened by reason, or civilised by Christianity. It was the natural production of the earliest eras of the Old World; and as natural, and perhaps necessary, an attendant on the first ages of the New. It was transported to America a weak and sickly plant, already checked in its growth by the mild precepts of the Gospel, and it is now fading rapidly even in

this last-discovered portion of the earth; while it is perpetuated alone in the land to which it owes its birth, where the antidote has not yet been able to reach the disease, and where it is now become an indigenous plant wildly flourishing in its native soil.

That slavery was a state which no legislator of antiquity ever attempted to abrogate, is certain; on the contrary, the greatest enthusiasts in the cause of liberty, the Athenians, the Lacedemonians, the Romans, and the Carthaginians were those who carried to the greatest extremity the laws against their slaves. In all the free states, the domestic slaves were exposed to the wanton rigour of despotism. The right of life and death so arbitrarily exercised over them, was the very principle of society; and the war of Spartacus, the Thracian slave, was, on the part of the Romans, perhaps the most just that was ever waged. So accustomed was mankind to the natural institution of slavery, that Epictetus, though pre-eminently more estimable than his master, never thought of bewailing his servile state. The ancients are said never to have chastised their slaves but to the sound of music; venerating its charms so much, that they thought it would assuage the pain without destroying the effect of necessary discipline. During the most perfect settlement of the Roman empire, which had been preceded by ages of violence and rapine, there yet existed in every family barbarian captives, taken in thousands by the chance of war, purchased oftentimes at a low price, accustomed to a life of independence, but now impatient to burst their bondage and revenge their fetters. Several times they had nearly reduced the republic to the brink of destruction. The severest restrictions and the most cruel treatment were considered justified by the great law of self-preservation.

But when the principal nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa became united under the power of one sovereign, the source of foreign supply sent forth a much less abundant stream into the slave-market of Rome; and this check to the traffic, like the abolition laws of Great Britain, produced

a better treatment, by causing recourse to be had to the milder, but more tedious, mode of keeping up the stock by propagation. In their families, particularly in the country, the marriage of the slaves was consequently encouraged by rewards. The hardships of servitude then also became alleviated by some refinements of education; and there are yet extant many inscriptions addressed by slaves to their wives, children, fellow-servants, and masters*. The edicts of Hadrian and the Antonines extended the protection of the laws to this abject portion of the community; the power of life and death was then given to the magistrates alone, beneath whose decision, in cases of ill treatment, the slave was either manumised or sold to a less cruel master. Solemn and legal manumission admitted them to the private rights of citizens, but still excluded them from civil or military honours; nor were such traces of a servile origin completely obliterated until the third or fourth generation. Thus, without sacrificing the necessary distinctions of rank, the boon of freedom and honour was presented even to those whom pride and prejudice almost disdained to number amongst the human species. The youths of both sexes who showed genius were educated, and their value thereby raised, so that some of them sold as high as many hundred pounds sterling, yet still they remained transferable property. The household of an opulent Roman might be found to contain almost every profession, liberal as well as mechanical. Even many of the most famous physicians were slaves under this meliorated condition of Roman servitude, while the servile ministers to pomp and sensuality were multiplied beyond

* GIANRINALDO, in his *Antichità*, graphically describes some inscriptions of this nature:—the *Servo Dispensatore; Dispensatori Domestici*: and explains the *Imp. Domitiani Servo. Dispensatori Montaniano;* where the *Servo Dispensatore* is equivalent to the *Verna Dispensatore.* The Roman slaves usually bore the prænomen of their masters; as Marcipores, Publipores, Lucipores.—*See* QUINT. i. 4—26. Sometimes they assumed the proper names of their country, as Syrus, Geta, Davus; but they were generally classed under the heads of Medici, Chirurgi, Scribæ, Coqui, &c. The Vernæ, or Vernaculæ, were the homebred, household slaves; whence the expression, vernacular tongue.

the conception of modern luxury. It was not uncommon to find seven hundred slaves maintained in a single Roman palace; and Isidorus*, a freedman, " testamento suo edixit, quamvis multa civili bello perdidisset, tamen reliquere servorum quatuor millia centum xvi."

Yet this improvement in the condition of the Roman slaves was not effected in the space of twenty years, as modern philanthropists would have it; although, it must be allowed that they were more civilised, and naturally better adapted to receive and improve the blessings of freedom than the African, or even the Creole negroes of the present day. It was there the progressive work of centuries; and three generations of liberty scarcely obliterated the disabilities of those enlightened freedmen.

It is curious to observe how the philosophers of antiquity treated the subject of slavery. Aristotle would make it appear, that it is at the same time both a just and unjust institution; that it is sometimes natural without being legitimate, and sometimes legitimate without being natural; that it is one of the decrees of nature that the less perfect should serve the more perfect, as the brute creation is subservient to man, and wives are obedient to their husbands. Moreover, that where force alone has reduced a people to slavery, that slavery is just without being absolute; for while superiority in virtue remains the foundation of authority, it cannot consist with the order of nature that the truly noble can be reduced to servitude†.

This is sufficient to show in what hands were formerly deposited the sacred rights of humanity. Let us rather retrace our steps, and follow the progress and decline of slavery through the different æras in which the circumstances attending it are best authenticated and most strongly marked. And first let it be observed, that the Hebrew word, which in our version of the Old Testament is translated *servant*, signifies literally *a slave*, in contradistinction to

* There was a Roman proverb—" Domi tot hostes esse quot servos;" the force of which is still familiar, and peculiarly felt in these colonies.

† Politic. cap. 3, *et seq.*

that which denotes an *hired* servant. We have seen that Noah made use of that distinguishing appellation in the curse which he denounced upon Ham and Canaan immediately after the deluge. There requires no further proof, therefore, that slavery, in the common acceptance of the word, had existed, and was familiar to him before that event:—anno mundi 1656.

A.M. 1656.

Three hundred and fifty years afterwards we find Abraham speaking of "the souls that they had gotten in Haran;" and again of "his trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen."

A.M. 2006.

Hagar, the "bond-woman," was, as her name implies, *a stranger;* that is, according to the Jewish law, a perfect and perpetual slave; and when she fled from her mistress to return to Egypt, her native land, the angel of the Lord commanded her obedience to the rigours of her servitude in these words, "Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands."

A.M. 2093.

The Hebrews had the power of life and death over all their slaves, who were divided into two distinct classes; the natural or imperfect, and the foreign or perfect slaves. The latter were destined to perpetual servitude. The former were again divided into two kinds: one, arising from poverty, which caused their self-sale; and another, which atoned for the non-payment of just debts, or was inflicted as the punishment of crime. And this disposal of their forfeited services to the public good seems somewhat more rational than the modern practice of perpetual and fruitless incarceration*. The Sabbatical year released the national slaves every seventh year; while the Jubilee, every fifty years, restored liberty both to themselves and their children. Although uncontrolled authority was vested in the master, yet the Hebrew law recommended lenity, and its due administration indirectly enforced it; while the preference was given to foreigners, who performed the duties of the more

* By the law of the Decemvirs also, the debtor was sold as a slave, and the price received for him was divided amongst his creditors.—See TAYLOR'S *Dissertation on the Law against Insolvent Debtors.*

abject offices. The value of a slave in those days was fixed by law at thirty shekels of silver—about seventy-five shillings sterling; because, (says Comester,) at the period when that law was made, *thirty* generations had passed from the time of Ham, whose posterity was cursed in slavery. Yet so little moral regard was had to this species of property, that the Mosaic law ordained, "if a man smite his servant or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall surely be punished; notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, *for he is his money*." It appears, also, that an Hebrew might sell even his own daughter to slavery, provided it was not into a foreign land. Indeed, so tenacious were they of preserving their own nation from expatriated servitude, that a severer penalty attached to the man who dared to deliver up to a Gentile owner the slave that might have sought his protection, than to him who murdered one. And if one of the children of Israel were kidnapped, and sold, or "found in the hand" of the offender, he was "surely to be put to death."

A.M. 2276. In the time of Jacob, the Ismaelite and Midianite merchants travelled from Gilead to Egypt; and their caravans, loaded with the valuable productions of the Levant, returned with multitudes of foreign slaves, for which the gums and spices of Arabia had been bartered. The purchase of Jacob was conducted upon the usual terms of this established traffic, and sufficiently proves that it had then obtained the sanction of long custom and high authority.

Slavery afterwards fell most heavily upon the Jews themselves. Two of their tribes, during a period of seventy years, were oppressed beneath the iron yoke of the Babylonians; and three others, which had been led captive by Salmanazar, actually disappeared from the face of the earth. Seven times were they reduced to slavery in their own promised land; and at length were sold in the public market, at the fall of Jerusalem. Such was the abject state of slavery in which the Jews were held by their eastern con-

quefors, that Ahasuerus, with easy indifference, granted to Haman, as but a trifling favour, the lives and fortunes of that passive race. The business passed, without difficulty, through the forms of office; and had Esther been less lovely, or less beloved, a single day would have consummated the universal slaughter of a submissive people, to whom no legal defence was allowed, and from whom no resistance seems to have been apprehended.

In Greece, that small and beautiful sisterhood of states, where flourished arts and arms, without a rival in her own age, and without parallel in succeeding ones, slavery was established on the most arbitrary principles. The Greeks possessed, however, two kinds of domestics—the hired and the bond. Unlike the luxurious Egyptians, the bond were less for show than service, for the heroes of Homer waited on themselves; but they were cruelly treated, and employed in the most arduous toils of the field. In the towns, indeed, it was otherwise: the refinements of luxury were there displayed in the multitude of attendants, on the women particularly, as in the palaces of Menelaus and Nestor; but these slaves were mostly females, who performed all the domestic offices of the household, even such as a regard to decency would have assigned to the other sex. They attended the baths and the chambers, perfumed and habited the men; while the male slaves were more profitably employed in laborious agriculture, or in those magnificent buildings, the remains of which still attest the superior excellence of Grecian art. Briseis was, at first, the slave of Achilles; and the influence which these female attendants gained over their masters, by their attentions, as well as by the charms of their persons, not unfrequently produced similar results, and contaminated the most noble Grecian blood. Nothing did the princesses of Troy bewail more loudly than the probable chance of their becoming the slaves of the Grecian women, whose jealous hatred they had reason to apprehend. The slave population of the Greeks was in the overwhelming proportion of three to one. Well might they have felt the force

A.M. 2820.

of that apprehension which was expressed by Seneca, when it was proposed to enumerate, or discriminate, the slave population of the Roman empire: "Quantum periculum immineret si servi nostri numerare nos cœpissent."

The barbarous oppression exercised upon the slaves of later ages was far exceeded by the ancient Grecians, of whom Aristophanes declares, that the Thessalians were the most arbitrary, and the Thracians the most cruel. The rich mines of salt with which Thrace abounded, afforded employment for the degraded race, and produce for their purchase; whence they were usually called προς ἁλος πεπραμενα. The Chians were amongst the first who employed money in the slave-market; for the heroes of Homer exchanged their captives with the followers of the camp, for the necessary supplies of their armies. As long as the Grecian slaves remained in actual servitude, they were called Οικεται; when manumised, in the ordinary way, Δουλοι: but even this manumission, though it redeemed their persons, as disposable property, exonerated them not from service; nor could it be any advancement towards the higher stations of life, which were attainable only by those who received freedom in remuneration of public service.—(*Arist. Ranis*, Act 7, Scene 6.) Even this possible indulgence was allowed no where but in Athens. The "Penestæ" of Thessaly, the "Corynephoi" of Sicyon, the "Mnoitæ" of Crete, and the "Gymnitæ" of Argos, were in a state of servitude much more deplorable than even this: and the abject condition of the "Helotæ"* of Sparta, gave rise to the proverb, that there the free were the most unrestrained, and the bond the most oppressed, of any race on earth.

Negro slaves were in those days extraordinary marks of luxury, pomp, or show; and were sometimes exhibited as objects of curiosity. Josephus, speaking of the trade carried on by Solomon at

A.M. 3004.

* So called from Helos, a conquered town in Laconia, where all the captives had been reduced to the most abject slavery.—STRABO, lib. 8.

Amongst the Greeks themselves, slavery was much softened by those laws which, with other indulgences, enabled the slave who was ill-treated to demand an exchange of owners.—PLUTARCH *de Superstitione*.

Ophir, which he places in Africa, mentions that, besides gold and silver, he obtained thence, "πολυς ἐλεφας, Αιθιοπες τε, και πιθηκοι"—much ivory, blacks, and monkeys; and these formed the principal part of the African trade even until late years. Solomon brought the negroes for the service of the Temple, the high-priests, and the seraglios; whence some few found their way, as presents, to the courts and cities of foreign powers. But, in subsequent ages, the decline of the kingdoms of the East extinguished the demand for such articles of luxury; the speculation of foreign commerce ceased; the avenues to their distant objects became blocked up or forgotten; and the negro provinces of Africa, retaining only a very precarious communication with the Moors and Arabs, remained unnoticed and unknown, until the Portuguese adventurers again opened a route to their shores 2440 years afterwards.

Homer makes frequent mention of the purchase of slaves, as in the book of the *Odyssea*, lines 272 and
A.M. 3097. 297; and when the fairest portion of the earth bowed beneath the Roman power, while her territories were inhabited by the most civilized of men, slavery was in its utmost rigour. Rome was seven hundred and fifty years in growing from infancy to maturity; and half as many more she existed in splendid infancy. Ere she sunk
A.M. 3900. beneath the burthen of her years and trophies, the wars, which increased the stupendous fabric of the empire, had poured multitudes of captive slaves into her corrupted states; while their numbers were also continually augmented by the ordinary methods of judicial condemnation, seizure, and sale. Such as laid down their arms, the "Dedititii," met with a readier sale than such as were taken in action, who were usually disposed of —*sub corona* or *sub hasta*—by auction on the field of battle. In the city, there was a mart continually open to the trade, and under the rule and regulations of the Senate. When first brought to Rome, the foreign slaves were called "Venales," or "Servi Novicii;" for no Roman was at liberty to dispose of his own person. Although fathers

might sell their children into slavery, yet that slavery was qualified, and deprived them not of the rights of citizens; but may be rather compared to the late custom of indenting European servants for these colonies, or the present method of apprenticeship.

The house of every wealthy Roman had its "Janitor," or porter; its "Actuarii" and "Notarii"—secretaries and stewards; its "Atriensis," who had charge of the *Atrium* and *Culina*, or refectory: the chambers were served by the "Cubicularii," or grooms; the kitchens by the "Carptor," or "Chironomantes," who carved to the sound of music; the "Archimagerus," or head cook; and the "Promus Condus," who had the care of the butteries, with his deputy manciple the "Structor." The "Ministri" served at the dinner-table; while the inferior offices of the house were performed by the "Famulæ," or maid-servants. The "Tonsores," and "Tonstricis" acted the parts of barbers or valets; the "Topiani" cultivated the gardens; and to the *leotica*, or palanquin, belonged its appropriate train of porters. Athenæus boldly asserts, that he has known establishments whose households comprised ten, or even twenty thousand servants,—and all these were slaves*. From two to five hundred composed but a moderate establishment; and over all the master possessed the most absolute and unlimited power: under his orders, and until the edict of Constantine, death was usually decreed by crucifixion. The *pistrino*, or workhouse, received the unruly, where the *furca* was affixed, like the ponderous Chinese collar, which the culprit carried on his neck—the galling badge of lasting infamy, or temporary disgrace.

Branding was used as a mark for recognition, and the whip as a chastisement for ordinary offences; while "Fugitivarii" were employed, like the Jamaica maroons, to seek and secure the fugitives. Yet, during the age of severest tyranny, the bonds of servitude seem to have sat but lightly upon the Roman slave; for the following display of popular

* See the admirable reproof of Seneca, "de tranquilitate animi," cap. 8; and 3rd *Satire of* JUVENAL.

feeling was greeted on the stage, where, no doubt, the slaves formed no inconsiderable part of the audience, with enthusiastic applause:—

Stalino.—"Optio hæc tua est: utrum harum vis conditionem accipe."
Chalinus.—"Liber si sim meo periculo vivam: nunc vivo tuo."
PLAUTUS.—*Casina.*

This decision on the proffered choice speaks but the sentiments of many a slave in the West Indies at the present day*. Yet, in Rome, the murder of the master was frequently visited by death upon his slaves, who were all indiscriminately butchered, in expiation of the offence†. They were debarred from appearing as witnesses in the courts of justice; although sometimes the indulgence of the master permitted the slave to bequeath his property: while, at the feast of Saturn, in December, and on the ides of August, a species of servile license tolerated certain sports, in which the master served his slaves; thus keeping alive the good humour, and fixing the fidelity, of his domestics, by festive condescension and occasional reward.

To the public slaves, such as were kept to wait upon the magistrates, or attend the public buildings, the *annua*, or yearly stipend, was given; and their superior situation ensured them a more liberal treatment.

The household slaves received a *diarium*, or daily allowance; and their *peculium*, or saving, was usually applied to

* This fact has been recently exemplified in Jamaica. Of the negro slaves who were offered their unqualified freedom, to reward their services in the suppression of the late rebellion, only two accepted it.

When the Roman Consuls entered on their office, on 1st January, the first act of their power was the manumission of a slave: a ceremony long preserved, to commemorate the celebrated act of the elder Brutus, the founder of Roman liberty, who admitted amongst his fellow-citizens the faithful Vindex, by whom Tarquin's conspiracy had been revealed.

† TACITUS.—*Annales*, 14—43. The edict of Constantine, although it afterwards removed some oppressions from slavery, contained a severe law against the crime of seduction by a slave, awarding very little indulgence to what Gibbon is pleased to call "the most amiable weaknesses of human nature." The culprit, male or female, guilty of being even an accessary to the crime, was burnt alive, or put to death by the ingenious torture of pouring down the throat a quantity of molten lead.—See *The Theodosian Code*, l. 9. tit. 24.

the purchase of a "Servus Vicarius," or substitute, to ease the burthen of labour. It was sometimes sufficient even to purchase freedom, and an industrious slave was thus often enabled to redeem himself at the expiration of six years. Frequently, however, the mercenary or perverse owner would refuse all price, and even exact the earnings of his servant. A weekly allowance was given to the out-door slaves, with five *modii* (pecks) of corn and five *denarii;* the former called their *dimesium*, the latter their *menstruum.*

The complete manumission of a slave was effected in three ways, under the Roman law: when, with the owner's consent, the slave had his name entered in the census, or public register of citizens; secondly, when he was taken before a prætor, and received the *vindicta*, or rod, upon his head; and, thirdly, when freedom was legally bequeathed. But the Fusian law limited the number of slaves to be manumised, in a certain proportion to those possessed by the owner;—thus: from two to ten, the half; from ten to thirty, the third; from thirty to one hundred, the fourth. But the last number could not be exceeded. The Ælia Sentia of Augustus, ordained that prior judicial punishment should exclude even the slave, who might afterwards receive manumission, from all prospect of the city's freedom; and the Junia Norbana in A. U. 771, permitted those who were freed, *per epistolam, inter amicos*, to enjoy the rights of freedom in the Latin colonies, but not in Rome.

Macrobius states, that Cleomenes, the Lacedemonian, "ex servis manumissis bellatorum novem milia conscripsit;" and that the Athenians "quoque consumptis publicis opibus servis libertatem dederunt." But Roman policy excluded slaves from the legions of the empire, even under the penalty of death; apprehending that their admission to the honourable chances of war might prostitute the privileges of the city to a mean and promiscuous multitude. When threatened with the conspiracy of Cataline, the Roman Senate offered freedom, and eight hundred thousand *sesterces*—about eight hundred pounds sterling, to any slave who

would disclose the plot. All the disaffected slaves flew to the standard of rebellion; yet the conspirator was too well aware of his political position to associate the cause of freedom with the fate of servitude*. After the battle of Cannæ, an exception was made in favour of eight thousand slaves, who were armed, and called *volones*; and these men were afterwards manumised for their bravery. But a certain proportion was always maintained between the pecuniary rewards granted to a slave, and those conferred upon a citizen,—the former one-fourth of the latter †.

A.M. 3951.

* By connivance, however, many slaves were indiscriminately received amongst the new levies of the Roman empire. The curious may discover all the usuages of ancient slavery in the following works:—Pancirolle, *Rerum Memor.*—Spanheim, *Orbis Roman.*, p. 124.—Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, b. 33.—Corn. Nep. *in vit.*, c. 13.—Pignorius *de Servis.*—Diodorus Siculus *in Eclog. Hist.*, l. 34.—Potgiesserus *de Statu servorum apud Antiquos.*—Tacit. *Annal.*, 14–34.—Apuleius *in Apolog.*, p. 548.—*La Felicite Publique.*—Valerius Max., l. 2. c. 2.—Suetonius *in Claud*, c. 16.—Macrobius, &c. The laws regulating Roman slavery, are elucidated in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, passim. The whole of lib. 40 treats *de manumissionibus.* Although these laws all manifest a strong disposition in favour of freedom, they do not furnish any direct means of acquiring it. They consist rather of judicial decisions, in cases of controverted title to freedom, and the construction of instruments purporting to confer it; and all these principles favoured the slave: especially overcoming the obstacles which the disability of a slave to possess property, or to enter into contracts, threw in the way of manumission, by securing it to him through the intervention of a third person. There is also a remarkable edict of Leo, by which a power was given to the slaves of that Emperor, and of his successors, to make a disposition of their effects, as well by contract as by testamentary bequest. But it is observable that the Emperor was aware of the dangerous innovation; and gave a power to the magistrates and people to conform to the more ancient laws, should they not approve of this. It still appears, that scarcely any of the disabilities of slaves, as to the acquisition of property, the right of sueing, or of giving evidence, were removed, or intended to be removed, by the civil law. The year 753 is assigned by Buller (*Horæ Juv. Subs.* 88.) as the era of the final extinction of the Roman law in Italy. Yet it is perfectly clear, that the slave population there laboured under all the disabilities which these laws contemplate, even at that period; and that, lingering seven hundred years longer in the East, they were enforced there until the Byzantine capital fell beneath the yoke of Mahomet II. This may be accounted for by the fact, that the Justinian Code was the ground-work of the Basilica.

† Polynæus, in his *Stratagemata*, asserts, that when Dionysius took Messana, he purchased the fidelity of a powerful body of slaves, by giving to them the daughters of their former masters in marriage.

Such, then, was the state of slavery during the most polished ages of antiquity, and in empires comprehending not only the fairest region of the earth, but the most civilized portion of mankind. In the northern wilds of Europe, and Asia, the great *officina gentium*, barbarity forged even heavier chains for the oppressed objects of lawless servitude; while in many provinces of Africa, where man was the common food of man, slavery ministered more to the appetite than to the service of the savage race.

A.M. 4000. But now approached a period when, if slavery had been merely the speculative project of man, an institution foreign to the inscrutable designs of the Creator, or an establishment *intrinsically* inhuman, it would probably have been checked by precept, if not abolished by principle. It might have been expected, at least, that man would have been recalled to his primitive liberty, released from a state of oppression, and purified from a reproach to which half the world was subject: yet such was not the case; Christ claimed the secondary worship of a subject world,—he found slavery systematically established there, and he left it so. It had been established by prescription, and immemorial usage confirmed it as one of the most important, if not the most obvious, bonds of civil society.

If the authority of the ablest British divines may be allowed to have any weight in the discussion of such a question, the names of Paley and Watson of Llandaff claim some attention to the following assertions:—"There is no passage in the Christian Scriptures," writes the former, "by which slavery is condemned or prohibited." The following syllogism is from the pen of the latter:—"God cannot authorize injustice, but He did authorize slavery among the Jews; therefore, slavery is not opposite to justice; nor am I certain that slavery is any where forbidden to Christians."

Although Christ descended on earth to introduce a religion of perfect benevolence, and to instil principles "pure as God is pure," yet he never marked slavery with reprehension, even as a venial evil, but rather recognised it

under the general necessity of existing distinctions, and the political establishment of different ranks. "Be it at the same remembered, that he came not to interfere *directly* with the civil institutions of mankind; but rather, through the silent organs of the soul, to instil such divine precepts as would there operate to purify and correct them. That he conversed with his Apostles upon a subject which daily occurrences must have frequently suggested, can hardly be doubted; but that he was ever supplicated by a complaining slave, ever applied to upon the question of natural right, or ever felt disposed to express his dissatisfaction at the system, appears no more than that the slaves desired, or that their masters apprehended his interference. Saint Paul, indeed, preached the most submissive obedience of slaves; and the correction of any possible abuse in this, as well as in other civil institutions, was left to the operation of that new moral code which was to reform the earth and remodel the heart of man.

During the first ages of Christianity slavery rather increased than otherwise in Europe. Years of shame and misfortune had clouded every province of the Roman world; its armies, long habituated to frequent and violent revolutions at home, were ill able to oppose the barbarous invaders and military tyrants, who poured down upon them from the north, and the ruined empire seemed to approach the last and fatal moment of its existence. Upon the wild confusion of this calamitous period, the mild progress of Christian precept could have but little influence. "When the Slavons, the Alains, the Huns, the Lombards, the Vandals, the Ostrogoths, the Visigoths, the Gepidæ, the Burgundians, the Heruli, the Francs, and the Normans, issued from the store-houses of nations, their native northern wilds, to participate in the collected spoils of the world, there was no appearance of any diminution in the multitude of slaves, but there was a very evident change in the objects of slavery, a change which will ever be remembered, and which is still felt by all the first nations of

A.D. 100.

A.D. 250.

the earth. Those barbarians who broke the tyranny of emperors bore with them, at the same time, liberty and slavery. Their pride induced them to believe that they alone were worthy of freedom, and the wretched inhabitants of the provinces exchanged their political servitude for civil slavery. Ancient masters were reduced to servitude the most abject; the greater number enchained the lesser, and many of the proud patriots of Rome were reduced to the state of mere beasts of burthen.

Slavery had long been the prevailing system amongst these invading Goths, and a northern banditti could be restrained in its predatory operations by no laws. The extensive Sarmatian tribes, of a purer race than their neighbours beyond the Carpathian mountains, were actually conquered and reduced to servitude by their own slaves, and kept out of their territories for the space of twenty years; nor were they restored but by the powerful aid of the Emperor Constantine.

A.D. 360.

After the first irruption of overwhelming barbarians, however, and where the influence of Roman example could possibly operate, the condition of the new race of slaves became somewhat improved, and Macrobius delivered an excellent charge on the usage of them. But the disorders which arose in Rome, and the misfortunes which assailed the empire, soon occasioned new and severe restrictions. The slaves were again prohibited the legal ties of marriage; and a distinction was rigorously maintained between the *contubernium* and the *nuptiæ*, or *matrimonium*. Nor was it until Christianity had been silently disseminating its precepts during a boisterous period of nearly six hundred years*, that this barbarous disability was completely re-

* Certain fines and restrictions on marriage were thence transferred to the feudal system, and long maintained under the villeinage law of England. The great tenants *in capite*, or inferior lords of seigneuries, were intitled to a notable aid to marry their eldest daughters once. The twentieth chapter of Magna Charta raised the people from these and similar degrading restrictions. Until that period the king possessed a despotic veto upon the matrimonial rights and tender feelings of the English females, to the great discomfiture of the old maids who speculated in the amusing business of match-

moved. The Roman magistrates had already devoted to slavery many of the adherents to the new faith of Christianity: *in Metalla damnamur, in insulas relegemur*—Tertullian. Apol. c. 12. The mines of Numidia contained nine bishops. Cyprian, epist. 76, 77. Many slaves were also martyrs. Blandina suffered the most exquisite tortures at Lyons; and the martyrdom of two other slaves is celebrated in the acts of Felicitas and Perpetua.

Manumissions now, however, became more frequent, and were granted *pro amore Dei; pro remedio animæ;* and, *pro mercede animæ.* Conscience, a faculty long dormant in the vicars of Christ, suggested to Pope Gregory the propriety of setting an example to the church by enfranchising some of his numerous slaves. Nor was the sacrifice very great on his part; for slaves were so numerous and cheap, even after their diminution by numerous manumissions in the next century, that they were esteemed almost an unsaleable property. When Lucullus obtained his memorable victory over Tigranes, the king of Armenia, he could obtain no greater price for the numerous slaves he captured than four drachmæ, about three shillings each*.

A.D. 590.

A.D. 687.

The pure and humble religion of Christ had now, amidst the open violence and the slow decay of the Roman empire, insinuated itself into the minds of men. It had grown up in silence and obscurity, while it derived strength from opposition, and vigour from a copious stream of martyr's blood. At length the triumphant banners of the cross waved over the ruins of the capitol. Yet Christianity broke not the chains of servitude. The popes, the abbots, and the whole church of Rome still possessed multitudes of slaves. The low condition of the labouring classes, and the tyranny exercised even over the free in those ages, made

making; and the continual demands for a release from this oppressive prerogative constituted a cardinal item in the fines to the royal exchequer, full many a tender heart paying dearly for the possession of her chosen love.

* DICKSON, in his *Ancient Husbandry*, affirms, that at one period, a *learned* slave seldom sold for less than 833*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling, and stage-players much higher.

them not unfrequently renounce their liberty and surrender themselves into slavery, that their uncontrolled masters might have some interest, at least, in the preservation of their lives. Many fled from freedom to the church, and there resigned their liberty into the hands of the priesthood. Such surrenders were called *obnoxiatio**. Others exchanged their secular slavery for religious servitude, by entering into holy orders, or by taking the monastic vow. But such modes of escaping from more useful bonds were quickly restrained by all the laws of Christendom.

A constitution now reigned over the ruins of the Roman empire which owed its origin to the military policy of the conquering Celtes. In fact, so universally was it recognized throughout Europe, that Spelman calls it "the law of nations in our western world." Having established themselves in their conquests, these Northern nations secured them by allotting to their officers and soldiers considerable tracts of land, which were named *feoda*, fiefs, or feuds, words signifying rewards upon certain conditions. Military service was one condition, and the *juramentum fidelitatis* another. Through his generals, a prince could thus always collect an army of feudatories, and the strength so acquired by these newly-erected kingdoms soon became apparent and formidable. But, besides these feudal grants, there was another termed *allodial*, which intitled the possessor to dispose of his territory and go to the wars, in these barbarous times the only road to preferment. Those who remained in slavery were alone destined to follow the arts of peace. To such of those wretched beings as fell to their share, the Celtes, who were strangers to the old Roman laws and customs, and acquainted only with this feudal system, gave some sparks of enfranchisement by admitting them to the oath of fealty, which conferred a right of protection, and raised the object to a state somewhat superior to actual slavery, yet inferior to every other condition. This they called *villeinage*, and the tenants *villeins*†. They were

* The forms are preserved by Marculfus.

† Villein, from villa, quia villæ ascriptus est. *Theyn*, in the Saxon lan-

villeins in gross, that is, transferable by deed from one owner to another. They could not leave their master without his permission; and if they ran away or were purloined from him, they were claimed and recovered as other property, while their dependence and penury compelled them to lodge, en masse, in their owner's castle.

This was the first natural advancement of European serfs from a state of absolute slavery. The next step was to make them *villeins regardant*, or, as the Romans called them, *adscripti glebæ*. Marriage was then again encouraged amongst them; cottages were assigned them; and, although their masters' landed property should change owners, they were no longer removable from their habitations. They had not, however, yet attained the rank of lessees, even of such humble tenements as a cottage and a garden; but, like the negro slaves in the West Indies, cultivated the latter only in the allowed intervals of relaxation from their master's labour. At this stage of improvement the labouring classes of Europe long remained. It required that melioration of their circumstances, that progression of civilization both in themselves, and in their semi-barbarous masters, which time alone could produce, to fit them for the third more perfect estate of freedom, which would render their evidence admissible in a court of justice, or themselves capable of being put on the inquest of the provincial courts; and the step to it was, by allowing them to cultivate a few fields on their own account, and to pay the rent, partly in produce, partly in labour.

Multitudes, however, still remained in perfect slavery;

guage, is *liber*; and *Then*, *servus*; hence the title THEME or THEAME, signifying potestatem habendi in nativos, sivi villanos, cum eorum siquilis, terris, bonis, et catallis.—*See* note, p. 455. This is, in some measure, the case in Russia, where the capitation tax is still assessed chiefly on the peasants. But as all these are in fact villeins, the tax falls ultimately on their masters; who, enjoying the fruits of their slaves' labour, are obliged to give each a piece of land to cultivate, sufficient not only for his own subsistence, but likewise for the payment of the tax. In the latter part of the last century ten millions of Russian subjects paid this tax, very nearly half the population of the empire, at the rate of four livres on the head of every male, from the moment of his birth to the age of sixty years.

and, amongst an infinite number of examples, may be mentioned one of Hugo, Marquess of Tuscany, an ancestor of the House of Brunswick, who endowed a convent at Florence, and six monasteries, with slaves. By far the greater portion of the labouring classes in France were in this most abject state, at the commencement of the third race of kings. Such was also the case in England, at the same period. Manumissions by bequest then, however, became more frequent in both countries.

A.D. 987.

There is no general law regulating the manumission of slaves on the statute book of England; for, although the English constitution, like the Roman, at an early period favoured personal liberty, yet it was thought unnecessary, or inexpedient, to enact express laws for that purpose. The purity of the Christian faith was, in fact, thought inconsistent with a state of servitude, and the fidelity of the domestic slave was therefore more frequently rewarded on the death-bed of his master. The Benedictine abbeys opened an asylum for the slaves of feudal tyranny, and the condition of all the lower orders began rapidly to improve. Henry V. enfranchised the serfs of Spire and Worms; the kings of France followed his example; and when Louis X. issued his ordinance to give freedom to the serfs in his dominions, upon what might have been considered liberal conditions, they had been so long accustomed to servitude, and so comparatively mild had it become by the dissemination of Christian doctrines, and the interference of religious houses, that multitudes absolutely refused their proffered freedom.

A.D. 1100.

Villeinage was, however, strictly maintained in England, as late as the reign of Edward III.; and Henry VIII. enfranchised many slaves by charter *.

The hardships imposed on foreigners, settling in any country of Europe, during the middle ages, were intolerable, and retarded civilization, by obstructing the intercourse of

* An old German law decreed, that freedom could not be granted to a male slave under the age of twenty years; while a woman might receive her liberty at sixteen.

nations. The superior lord of any territory upon which a foreigner settled, was empowered to reduce him to slavery, and to confiscate the fruits of his industry. With the ancient Welsh, indeed, a madman, a leper, and a foreigner, might be killed with impunity. In the reign of Louis IX. the people were held in the most abject bondage by the proud nobles of France. Joinville relates a curious instance of it. Count Henri de Champagne, going to mass, was once supplicated by a poor chevalier for pecuniary assistance; when Artaud de Nogent, a rich merchant, with officious zeal, reproved the supplicant—"For shame; my lord has given so much, that he has nothing left to give." The Count cried, "Villain, 'tis false; I have *you* to give. Here, Chevalier, seize your slave; I give him to you." A ransom of five hundred livres scarcely freed the merchant from his sudden, yet undoubted bondage. Froissart imputes Wat Tyler's insurrection to the machinations of the oppressed villeins. After the death of Tyler, while the King was yet under apprehension of the consequences of that bold act, he largely distributed charters of manumission, freeing them "ab omni bondagio." Walsingham records the charter granted to Hertfordshire, the province of his own monastery; but he asserts that these charters were "extorted from the King by force." When the rebellion was nearly suppressed, the King was advised to annul them; and being pressed by the villein rebels of Essex to make them good, even to the extent that they should not be bound by any suits of court-view of frank-pledge oftener than twice a year, he answered their messengers, that so far from abrogating their bondage, he would cause them to be "far more basely trampled on. While we live, and rule this kingdom, by God's will, we will employ all our means and power to keep you under," exclaimed the angry monarch. He accordingly revoked the charters of manumission which he had already granted to "all the Commons."

"On dit communement," said Voltaire, at the conclusion of the last century, "qu'il n'y a plus d'esclaves en France,

Plus d'une belle Dame à Paris, brillante dans un loge de l'Opéra, ignore qu'elle descend d'une famille de Bourgogne, ou du Borbonnais, ou de la Franche-Comté, ou de la Marche, ou de l'Auvergne, et que sa famille est encore esclave mortaillable—mainmortable."

About the eleventh century, the tide of civilization, which had ebbed so long, began, however, to flow in a steady and accelerated course. Although the crusades conferred no positive benefit on Europe, they assisted in the removal of an oppressive evil. They drained the estates of the barons, and sometimes even extinguished their race. These costly expeditions required large supplies; and poverty often extorted from pride the sale of these charters of freedom, which "unlocked the fetters of the slave, secured the farm of the peasant, and the shop of the artificer; and gradually gave a substance and a soul to the most numerous part of the community." Under the feudal system, the rights, natural as well as civil, of mankind, had been enjoyed only by the nobles and ecclesiastics, who formed scarcely the thousandth part of the commonwealth. In this century they were gradually diffused among the body of the people. The feudal system was much weakened in France by the innovations of Charles VII., the first modern prince who possessed a military force in time of peace, or imposed taxes by his sole authority; and it was annihilated by the severe despotism of Louis XI., into whom the soul of Tiberius might seem to have passed.

Charters of liberty then became frequent; they contained four cardinal concessions, corresponding with the four capital grievances of personal slavery. First, the right of disposing of the persons of slaves, by sale or grant, was relinquished; secondly, facility was given to the slave in disposing of his effects by will, providing that, if he died intestate, they descended to his lawful heirs; thirdly, the services and tribute, formerly imposed arbitrarily, were now precisely defined, and accurately ascertained; and, lastly, the serf was permitted to marry, and enjoy all the privileges of that Chris-

tian institution. These valuable immunities, which loosened the yoke of feudal servitude, were conceded in the famous charter—"Habitoribus Montis Britonis."

The progress of the peasantry of England fully kept pace with this advancement of their brethren in France, Italy, and the Netherlands; and thus gradually faded slavery from southern Europe. The interest of the landlord was every where best promoted by relaxing the feudal connexion, foregoing all claims to personal service, receiving payment of rent in money alone, and then paying for labour by wages, rather than by maintenance. Thus serfs became tenants; tenants freeholders; and villeinage, eventually, little but a name.

This imperfect sketch of the rise, progress, and decline, of slavery in the Old World, may, in some measure, illustrate, and apply to, the condition of the negroes in these islands of the New, with this very important and lamentable reservation, however,—that the experience of mankind, from the earliest records to the present day, has proved that there is a radical and absolute difference between those classes; that from the *adult* objects of negro slavery, kindness and indulgence have never yet been able to eradicate the generic character of deceit, ingratitude, and cruelty.

To the philanthropic mind, ignorant of the African character, this may appear an uncharitable assumption; yet, something may be allowed to experience; and those who better know that unfortunate race from habitual observation, will confirm the fact, while they lament its truth. The difficulty of eradicating fixed passions and dormant propensities, firmly rooted in the breasts of barbarians, and fostered there through ages—beyond all calculation, has been strongly exemplified in a recent fact. The Mexican idol, which had been bathed with the blood of thousands of human victims, was buried in the ruins of the Temple of Vitzilipuztla more than three hundred years; yet, when it was lately dug up for the inspection of an English traveller, it instantly inflamed the latent sparks of savage sensibility, which had

been preserved only by tradition, unobliterated by so many generations, which the labours of the Spanish clergy, and a seducing form of worship, had acted on. On the morning following its exhumation, the disgusting figure was discovered, dressed and decorated with chaplets of flowers—the work of the Indians, who had stolen thither in the darkness of the night, to do homage to their long-lost deity.

Had the American colonies been tilled by European slaves, these last three centuries would not have passed here, as they had done, without the fruits of freedom; they would long since have succeeded to the rights of a free peasantry, as did the slaves and serfs of feudal governments, in the sketch before us. The unfortunate disproportion existing between the master and the negro slave; the peculiar natural as well as political state of these colonies; and, what is of no small importance, the present extreme poverty of them; present obstacles which almost annihilate all those theories and philosophical conclusions, that history might otherwise furnish us with, as to the probable result of systems, similar to those which enfranchised Europe. Let us, then, trace the origin and progress of this negro servitude, which time and treaties have now legitimated in this Western World.

After the decline of the ancient Eastern Empire, there seems no reason to believe that negro slaves
A.D. 1420. were introduced to Europe until the year 1420; that distant race having been forgotten by all the civilized world, almost since the days of Solomon.

The name of Obeidolla, who styled himself the descendant and avenger of Ali, had, perhaps, resounded amongst them, when he founded the dynasty of the Fatamite Khalyfs. When it declined in the western dominion of Africa, the Arabs of Mauritania, who had retained their pastoral life, spread the terror of their arms, and the law of Mahomet, amongst the negro nations in the interior; and this may account for many Mahometan practices still discernible in the manners and customs of the negroes here.

The French boast that they traded to the coast of Guinea

as early as the year 1365, and that they were the first, after the fall of the Roman empire, who ventured along the shores of Africa, beyond the limits of the Old World. But the brittle pile of improbabilities, upon which Labat has built this boasted antiquity of claim to the Gold Coast, and negro traffic, is totally destroyed by later writers; and the Portuguese retain their prior right, both to the credit of the discovery and the advantages of the possession.

It was during the wars which raged between the Portuguese and the Africans, that negro slaves were first brought to Europe, on the ground of conquest. The introduction of them, as a species of property, was sanctioned by a Bull of Pope Eugenius IV. in the year 1440; and Prince Henry, who commenced his maritime discoveries in those dark regions of the world, was the first Christian potentate who displayed them in his retinue, or retained them in his service. From his castle, on the shores of the Atlantic, he encouraged and improved the art of navigation, and sowed the first seeds of that fruitful research, which, forty years afterwards, produced the discovery of another hemisphere. Cadamosta is an example of his liberality, in the encouragement of the most expert seamen and the bravest spirits of the age. His caravels succeeded in the arduous attempt to double the promontories of Non and Boyador. They passed the Senegal and Gambia, and on the Gold Coast the fort of Mina was established by him. There the silks of Grenada were exchanged for the gold and slaves of the adjacent provinces.

A.D. 1440.

A.D. 1450.

A.D. 1452.

The Portuguese sails, as they swelled in the wind, were mistaken by the Azenahis, that last shade between the whites and blacks, for enormous birds. The negroes trembled at the roar of the cannon, and admired the splendour, while they dreaded the strength, of men, who surpassed in power and knowledge even the deities of Africa. But an opinion prevailed on the banks of the Gambia, that the blacks, who were carried away by these strange birds, were destined to become the grateful food of these polite canni-

bals of Europe. And if we follow the fate of some of these wretched beings, under the barbarous rod of their first oppressors, perhaps this false suspicion may be rather favorable, than otherwise, to Christian humanity.

Prince Henry soon enriched the neighbourhood of his fort at Mina, and the little island of Arquin, near Cape Blanco, by the cultivation of sugar and corn; and thence drew his treasures of gold-dust, or shipped his slaves. The former establishment was the most important of all the Portuguese possessions on the coasts of Africa; nor did it degenerate in the hands of the Dutch, who afterwards possessed themselves of it, and made it the grand emporium of all their acquisitions in that quarter of the world. The King of Portugal assumed the title of Lord of Guinea; and the traffic in slaves remained exclusively in the hands of that nation until the year 1470, when the Spaniards established a mart; and the importation of negroes every where followed the cultivation of sugar, as now successively introduced to Spain, Madeira, the Azores, the Canaries, and, at length, to the American isles. No sooner were these discovered, and the enchanting richness of their metallic ores and fertile soil made known, than a fresh drain from African life was opened, and the negroes were made subservient to the drudgery of the Mexican mines, or to the labours of the Indian field. So long, however, as the strength of the native Indians withstood the execrable cruelties of their Castilian task-masters, the negroes were considered as very inferior workmen. Ovando complained of their continued importation to Hispaniola, where he found them but idle labourers, who took every opportunity of escaping into the woods, and assisting the natives in their feeble attempts to throw off the Spanish yoke. But as Indian life wasted, negro labour became necessary to supply its place. Africa then poured forth her sable sons by thousands; and the Dominican friars commenced their labours amongst them by obtaining an edict regulating their work, and meliorating their condition. Four years afterwards, Ferdinand himself sent out a cargo of

A.D. 1470.

A.D. 1503.

A.D. 1506.

negro slaves, as a private adventure, to his own possession in Hispaniola; and in 1517, the traffic became firmly established under papal authority.

That Las Casas should be accused of having, in that year, introduced the first negro slaves to the American isles, is an anachronism invented by the malignity of faction. To relieve the expiring race of Indians from the extirpating cruelties of his barbarous countrymen, that benevolent prelate, driven by powerful opposition to the adoption of any palatable measures to effect his purpose, was the first who proposed to confine slavery to the cannibal Charaibs; but he certainly took no part in the measures, adopted by the Spanish minister Ximenes, and approved of by Cardinal Adrien, which secured to the Sieur de Chievres the exclusive traffic in negroes. Establishments had, in fact, existed for the African slave-trade at least twenty years before Las Casas was born; and it was a traffic commenced with America eighteen years before he is even accused of originating it. His efforts to stop it could have had no possible effect, when his sovereign had himself joined in it; and a Papal Bull, to which he had sworn obedience, had sanctioned it. Herrera is his only accuser; for Robertson blindly follows that prejudiced author, who cites no authority, but wrote thirty-five years after Las Casas was dead, and more than eighty years posterior to the events he would record. Moreover, in many other instances, he evinces hostilities to that prelate, while his veracity, as an historian, is deservedly suspected by Gumilla, Solis, Laet, and Torquemada.

Las Casas endeavoured to serve those, over whom the right of slavery had not yet been so formally established; an object, which the failure of the systematic attempt of Ximenes to introduce Africans rendered unattainable. For the Sieur de Chievres, finding himself unable to profit by the patent he had obtained, sold it to the Genoese merchants for the sum of twenty-three thousand ducats; and the avarice of this company, which went under the name of the Compagnie des Grilles, was its own destruction; for it checked that traffic which the benevolent prelate had vainly

hoped would have spared the remains of Indian life. These merchants were bound to furnish, within the first year, four thousand negroes; but aware of their interest, in supporting their value by not overstocking the market, they evaded the contract, and transported only one thousand; which were dispersed over the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, and Jamaica, and sold as high as two hundred ducats each. Though subsequently compelled to lower their prices, the Genoese, under this patent, continued to monopolize the supply of negroes until the year 1539, when the great mart was again established in Lisbon, where even Brazilians were sold indiscriminately with negroes and mulattoes*. The annual sales there amounted to between ten and twelve thousand, at a price varying from ten to fifty ducats; while fanaticism urged the trade, by suggesting, "que les Africains méritoient bien d'être traités en bêtes, puis qu'ils parloient Arabe, et qu'ils étoient circoncis." The number of negro slaves annually transported to the American isles, from the different European marts, amounted to about forty thousand; an average expenditure of human life which continued for the space of one hundred and thirty years. The same diseases, the same unknown causes, which destroyed life, or impeded natural increase amongst the Europeans, operated, in even a greater degree, upon the Africans transplanted there; and many millions of human beings lived and died, during that period, in the most abject state of slavery, and amidst the horrors, torture, and disease, incident to their subterraneous captivity.

A.D. 1539.

The Spaniards, in their authority over their slaves, appear to have been restrained by no law whatever; but were sanctioned in every act which could extort their labour, or secure their obedience. While the mines poured forth such rich stores to purchase more, their interest in them, as mere property, had no effect in checking their inhumanity. Benzo, who witnessed the cruelties he recites, mentions a penal law enforced upon the slaves, and calls it

A.D. 1545.

* See a letter from Damien de Goez to Paul Jove, in PREVOST'S *Hist. Gén. des Voyages.*

"Lex Baionæ." It seems to have been one of the most sanguinary description; for he adds, "quam equidem legem ab immani aliquo dæmone scriptam crediderim." The punishment inflicted under it, upon such as did not satisfactorily perform their daily tasks in the mines, was to bury them up to their necks, and leave them to be devoured by insects—an appalling example to the rest; or to flog them with wire whips, and pour burning pitch or boiling oil into their festering wounds.

Excited by such cruelty to acts of desperate resistance, the negroes rose upon their masters, chose leaders of their own, and excited such apprehensions in Hispaniola, and the neighbouring isles, that not more than eleven hundred Spaniards ventured to remain there. The rest fled, and caused a depression of the insular colonies, which they never recovered; for soon afterwards the Licentiate Ceratus arrived there with the royal mandate, to manumise the few remaining Indians: while the daily discoveries on the continent, where gold was found in much greater abundance, soon drained the Antilles of their rich adventurers.

Of all the nations of modern Europe, England was the last which embarked in the slave-trade; and, to her eternal credit, has been the first to discontinue it. The earliest attempt was made by some private adventurers, without the sanction or knowledge of government. When Hawkins returned from his first voyage to Africa and Hispaniola, to which latter colony he had carried a few slaves as an experiment, Queen Elizabeth sent for him, and, with an appearance of sincerity, expressed her concern that some of the negroes had perhaps been taken from their native land without their free consent. The Admiral was candid in his reply, and promised future compliance with the Queen's formal injunctions, not to use violence. He found it, however, inexpedient to keep his word; or perhaps it was not sincerely required that he should keep it; for, going to Africa soon afterwards, he again seized and carried off a multitude of negroes; sold them at the Havanna; and returned home with so vast a

A.D. 1563.

treasure, that he was enabled to silence any murmurs which his disobedience might have raised. His skill and success induced the Queen, not only to overlook the venial offence, but to confer on him, by especial favour, the honours of a crest—"A demi-Moor, in his proper colour, bound with a cord." * The subsequent annoyance which Hawkins gave to Elizabeth's deadly enemies in the American seas, where he continued to pursue the lucrative trade of a slave-dealer, induced her to afford him not only her royal sanction, but even to add her own pecuniary assistance.

A.D. 1565.

Thus commenced the British slave-trade; and the odium which has been so unjustly thrown upon the memory of Las Casas, might perhaps strip off some laurels from one of our own illustrious crowned heads. The traffic was soon firmly established by two patents, granted to the petitions of some wealthy merchants: the one for a trade to Guinea, between the Gambia and Senegal; and the other establishing a commercial intercourse with Barbary and Morocco. The liberty of the trade was afterwards extended to the Sierra Leone; but these enlarged companies soon failed. When the Dutch evinced an inclination to share the African slave-trade with the Portuguese, a fresh spirit of opposition and enterprise aroused the dispirited English; and James I. readily indulged it, by granting charters, under the great seal, to Sir Robert Rich, and others, with exclusive privileges exceeding all former concessions.

A.D. 1588.

A.D. 1592.

A.D. 1609.

Still, however, gold-dust and ivory formed the principal articles of the African trade; for, while the Spanish war lasted, the conveyance of slaves across the Atlantic was thought too hazardous an undertaking. When Captain Jobson touched at the river Gambia, he refused slaves in exchange for his merchandise, and declared that the English did not trade in them. The unappropriated island of Barbadoes being now, however, granted by James to the Lord Treasurer, the want of labourers to

A.D. 1621.

* HAKLUYT'S *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 500. Also STOW, and PRINCE in his *Worthies of Devon*, p. 389.

cultivate that earliest possession of Britain in the West Indies,
A.D. 1624. induced her merchants, openly and largely, to embark in the slave-trade; at first for her own supply, and then for that of her neighbours.

Charles I. chartered another company, expressly to trade
A.D. 1631. between Africa and the West Indies; when the liberties and lives of all the native inhabitants of the vast district between Cape Blanco and the southern extremity of Africa, were placed, with easy indifference, in the hands of Sir Kenelm Digby. Yet so many private adventurers invaded his rights, that the trade was, in fact, open to all the world; and continued so until the restoration of Charles II. The commotions, under which the throne of England tottered and fell, had occasioned so great an emigration, that the population of her only colony required no additional increase; for the small island of Barbadoes already
A.D. 1650. contained twenty thousand whites, and negroes were, therefore, not required to cultivate it.

But when the policy of Cromwell induced him to turn his attention to this quarter of the world, he found it necessary
A.D. 1655. to encourage the slave-trade, inconsistent as it was with the fanatical spirit of the age; and he renewed the charter to Rowland Wilson, and other rich merchants. The enterprising spirit of the Dutch still outstripped him; and the disorders of the times again reduced this new establishment to the lowest ebb.

The British conquerors profited little by the negroes whom they found in the island of Jamaica, and whose services were inseparable from the hard fate of their expatriated owners: their number it is now difficult to ascertain. So closely were all the Spanish American dominions sealed against the curiosity of strangers, that the state of slavery here, during the seventeenth century, is clouded in impenetrable obscurity. The scanty and suspicious materials to be found in the Spanish historians, enable us not to dispel the gloom; and all we know is, that time had wrought a great change, both in the manners and in the dispositions of their countrymen, on this side of the Atlantic. They neither

possessed the enterprise of their forefathers, nor were they stained by the pollution of their crimes. The days of Cortez, of Velasques, and of Pizarro, were long since gone by. Guilty ambition, remorseless fanaticism, and frantic cruelty, had subsided in apathy, penury, and sloth. At least such was undoubtedly the case with Jamaica, where not five hundred slaves were employed in the cultivation of an island containing more than two millions of acres of the richest land. The degeneracy of their masters had reduced all classes nearly to an equality; so that, in fact, slavery hardly existed in Jamaica. Poverty had, for a series of years, forbidden a further importation of Africans; the negro race had rapidly decayed; and the few that were left, and who were employed to supply the wants of the indolent Spaniards in Saint Jago, by the cultivation of their hatos in the country, were preserved with the greatest care, and cherished as their own children. The jealousy occasioned by the revolution, which had placed the Duke of Braganza on the throne of Portugal, caused the expulsion of almost all the colonists of that nation. The deserted houses in the capital proved the want of tenants; and even the abbey there, which had been richly served, and nobly endowed, was reduced to the extremity, or perhaps habituated to, the equality of negro priests. The easy condition of the slaves was manifested in their attachment to the fallen fortunes of their masters; and they were confidently left by them to retain possession of an island, which they could no longer keep themselves.

As soon as the army found that it was destined to colonise its conquest, General Brayne requested from the A.D. 1657. Protector, an immediate supply of African labourers, to replace the soldiers, who rapidly fell beneath the unusual labours of the field. Yet so gradual was the importation, that after the lapse of seven years, no more than five hundred and fifty negroes were to be found in the island. But when the country was to be settled under the civil A.D. 1662. government which Charles II. ordained, that monarch immediately chartered a third African company, with his royal brother, the Duke of York, at its

head. Three thousand negroes were to be annually supplied by it; and Jamaica soon reaped the fruit of their agricultural labours.

Two years afterwards, Sir Robert Holmes, under secret orders from the King, seized the Dutch forts near Cape Verd, built James's Fort, near the mouth of the Gambia, and captured all the factories on the coast, except Acheen and Saint George d'Elmina. But this measure was severely revenged by De Ruyter, who retaliated upon Fort Takoray and the settlement of Coromantin; aggressions which greatly impeded the transport of slaves to Barbadoes and Jamaica. The treaty of Breda, however, mutually restoring the possessions, and the third company having surrendered its charter to the crown, another royal company, with the King himself as its patron, and with a capital of one hundred and eleven thousand pounds, was incorporated, and settled upon a more permanent footing, with fuller powers, and extended limits. Fifty thousand *guineas*, distinguished by the impression of an elephant, were immediately coined from the first produce of the ore, and still commemorate the era of this royal or ignoble speculation. Wax, ivory, and dye-woods, increased the list of exports; and the Sierra Leone poured multitudes of their sable sons into the British West Indies. Nor was gold required for their purchase; for the company, by its ready-money trade with England, was enabled to furnish them here on credit; an indulgence which soon enabled the colonists of Jamaica to increase their agricultural strength to nearly ten thousand slaves*.

A.D. 1664.

A.D. 1667.

A.D. 1672.

* See the Appendix to the first volume of the *Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica*. In the year 1821, the African Company, which, under various modifications, had existed from the time of Charles II., was abolished; and all its forts and possessions on the Gold Coast, were annexed to the colony of the Sierra Leone. The number of these forts and settlements was nine; namely, Cape Coast Castle, Annamaboe, Accra, Tantamquerry, Dixcove, Appollonia, Succondee, Commenda, and Prampran. The entire white establishment consisted of no more than forty-five persons; and the black and coloured people, in the company's pay, amounted to four hundred and fifty.

The melancholy fate of Sir Charles M'Carthy, occasioned by the check

The Africans brought hither, were of four distinct descriptions: such as had been captured in war, and sold by their conquerors directly to the European merchants; such as were sold by their parents or husbands; those that were born in freedom, but condemned to the penalty of its forfeiture by their public crimes; and, lastly, those native slaves, whom their owners were disposed to part with. Public criminals formed the greater portion; and the Coromantins the worst. Cruel, deceitful, and vindictive, to their natural vices was superadded a long list of constructive crimes, which rendered them dangerous in their own country, and a very curse upon this. The excessive population which overflowed some of the African provinces, made it necessary to relieve them in some way; and the drain thus opened, checked those horrid modes of diminishing it hitherto practised there. For ages they had been offering human sacrifices to their Fetishes, butchering their captives, and devouring their victims—food permanent in its supply, and naturalized by custom; and which rendered it less necessary to break through their habits of indolence by the cultivation of the earth. Previous to the introduction of the slave-trade, human flesh was held in such cheap estimation, in some of the provinces of Africa, that, to change their diet, the natives would give forty slaves for the luxury of a horse. Snelgrove relates, that when he was on the coast, "the King of Old Calabar falling sick, caused, by the advice of his marbuts, a child about ten months old to be sacrificed to his Fetishe, for his recovery; that he actually saw the child, after it was killed, hung up on the bough of a tree, with a fowl tied to it to increase the spell." During another voyage to the same place, he beheld the same king sitting beneath a tree, with a child bound to a stake near him, covered with wounds and flies, waiting to be sacrificed for the restoration of his majesty's health.

Such revolting instances of barbarity constantly before their eyes almost reconciled the natives to their removal,

which his active government gave to the neighbouring barbarian chiefs, is still fresh in the recollection of the reader.

especially when they found themselves subservient to a colour more merciful than their own; and numerous were the instances of contentment expressed by the slaves brought to Jamaica, who, when asked if they would return to their old habits and native land, declared themselves far better satisfied with this.

Laing, the modern traveller in Western Africa, in the year 1824, was twice offered by mothers their children for sale, and abused for refusing them. One evening a clamour was raised against him, as being one of those white men who prevented the slave-trade, and injured the prosperity of their country. "The two mothers severally accused their children of witchcraft, and were much surprised at the refusal to purchase, particularly as the price did not exceed ten bars, or about thirty shillings sterling."

Of such materials was composed the first negro population of Jamaica, and of such it continued for more than one hundred years; yet, however unreasonable and unjust was the principle which effected the change, no doubt the moral, the intellectual, and even the physical, condition of the transplanted Africans was improved by it. Soon, however, their passions predominated, their native barbarity broke through the restraints of incipient civilization, and they rose in open rebellion. They were as quickly re-
A.D. 1684. pressed by the salutary measures of Governor Molesworth; while the importation continued, or was rather increased, under the act of parliament of the first
A.D. 1688. of William and Mary, which abolished the African Company, and again opened the trade to private adventurers. In the following year, the first Assiento Company was established for the supply of the Spanish West Indies with negro slaves, and Jamaica was fixed upon as the emporium. The vast influx of these barbarians produced frequent insurrections, and particularly a very serious and
A.D. 1690. sanguinary one in the parish of Clarendon.

The great law of self-preservation had hitherto suggested to the young legislators of Jamaica only penal laws to restrain these barbarous outrages; nor was it until after a

lapse of forty years that one enactment was made for the protection of the slave, or affecting him as disposable property. An act was then framed, providing that slaves should not be considered free by becoming Christians, or be taken for the debts of their masters when other effects were to be had; that their children should succeed to the condition of their parents; that slaves for dower might be taken for debt, but that the husband's sale of slaves should not bar the widow; and that legal purchases of slaves might be effectual, although no written title was given, excepting new negroes. Masters of slaves were also obliged to provide them with sufficient clothing, and to plant one acre of provisions for each; while the king's instructions to his governor commanded all facility to be afforded to their conversion to Christianity, and to their improvement in comfort and civilization. Provision was also made for the sale of white servants, of which description many still remained in Jamaica, with the survivors of the Scotch prisoners taken at the battle of Worcester, and of the unfortunate royalists who failed in the Salisbury plot.

A.D. 1696.

A.D. 1698.

Esquemeling, who had himself been an indented servant to the French, describes the condition of these white slaves: "young men and boys, who were inveigled and transported from England, and other countries, and having once got them into the islands they were worked like horses; the toil imposed upon them being much harder than what they enjoin the negroes, their slaves, for these they endeavour to preserve, being their perpetual bondmen; but for their white servants they care not whether they live or die; and when they had nearly served the usual term of their contracts, seven years, they used them so ill as forced them to beg their masters to sell them to others, though it were to begin another servitude of seven years; thus many served fifteen or twenty years."

The African trade, which, by the declaration of right, had been virtually laid open, was now legally made so under certain duties and restrictions, but no duty was imposed on

the exportation of negroes; and the Royal Company, foreseeing its ruin, fruitlessly remonstrated against the application which the planters of Jamaica had made to parliament for that indulgence. The importation of slaves continued so abundant, that in the year 1720 they were numbered at seventy thousand; the north-east districts of the island, which had been hitherto a trackless waste, were now opened; the rebellious slaves, who had sought refuge there, were dislodged by the Mosquito Indians, under the immediate command of their king; and though partial revolts were frequent, the barbarous crowd was subjected in some degree to civil restraint. The statute book, it is true, was loaded with penal laws*, for the racy barbarity of the objects forbade the hope that milder treatment would prevail. The provocations which the planters endured during these early years of settlement, in murders, tortures, and alarms, inflicted by the overwhelming savages upon their families, roused that spirit of severity, which, while it outraged the ordinary dictates of humanity, finds some palliation in a case which was beyond their control and without parallel in history. Yet to this hour it supplies ready, but unjust, arguments of illiberal reproach to the political enemies of their innocent descendants. Our national rivals, the French, omitted not to add their partial testimony to support the odious charge; and Labat very gravely asserts, that the English punished their slaves by grinding them in their sugar-mills; thus ridiculously accusing them of wantonly destroying the most valuable part of those possessions which they had expatriated themselves to acquire. Prevost blindly echoes the absurd assertion, and adds that "la plupart des Anglois sont de cruels maîtres pour leurs esclaves."

How little these negroes could be trusted, and how far their savage breasts were disqualified for the reception of the finer feelings of human nature,

A.D. 1725.

* It appears, however, that slaves were not as such incapacitated from giving evidence in courts of law against free-born negroes; for many private bills may be found in the journals of the assembly barring that right in particular cases.

or the improvement of indulgences, was exemplified in an appalling instance of cruelty exercised upon Philip Wheeler, in the neighbourhood of Plantain Garden River; who, with more philosophy than prudence, had dedicated his life to the melioration of their condition, and now yielded it to their scalping knives.

The colony, however, flourished beyond all precedent; it was supplied with labourers at an easy rate, and the native forests quickly fell beneath their axes. Their A.D. 1734. numbers now amounted to more than eighty thousand; while the woods of the Eastern district swarmed with a formidable banditti, whose force could scarcely be estimated. The rebels from the parish of Clarendon, marshalled under Cudjoe, one of their native chieftains, had been joined by some of them, and these terrific outlaws assumed the name of the Cottawoods. The term Maroon* had been given to the straggling bodies of the original Spanish fugitives who had long ago disappeared; and it was not until this junction, when parties had been fitted out against Cudjoe, that he and his people were included under that appellation. They soon pursued a more systematic warfare; action confirmed their rude discipline, success elevated their hopes, and in their frequent skirmishes they acquired an art of attack and defence, which, in these interior fastnesses, has often foiled the best concerted exertions of organized European bravery.

The government, harassed by continual alarms, and wearied by the ineffectual attempts which had been made to suppress them, at length resolved to establish military posts; and Cudjoe's formidable band, now in possession of the wild district of Cave River, rendered it necessary to erect a barrack there, whose ruins still prove that, though the site was bad, the works were strong. It soon, however, became the grave of all its white defenders, who were surprised by their more vigilant and hardy enemies, and savagely butchered within its walls. Eight independent companies of rangers were immediately raised; and, assisted by a body of

* See note lv.

confidential slaves, called the Black Shot, with two hundred Mosquito Indians, they drove the rebels through the tremendous cockpits and tangled forests of the interior, until Cudjoe fixed himself in a ravine called Petit River bottom, in the parish of Trelawney; while his brother Accompong, with another division, established himself in the Nassau mountains of Saint Elizabeth.

It having now become a common practice, not only to connive at the escape of slaves, but even to carry them off the island by force, a law became necessary to prevent it, and the offence was declared felony; while every encouragement was given to the increase of white settlers, who, as well as their slaves, limited to the number of twenty, were allowed a free passage to the island. The governor's instructions permitted him to pass no law which should impose duties upon slaves imported here, payable by the importer; or upon any slaves exported that had not been sold in the island and continued there twelve months. They also prevented the imposition of all duties on the importation of convicts from Great Britain.

A.D. 1736.

The operations of Cudjoe's party, whose head-quarters formed a rallying point for all the disaffected in the island, caused serious alarm; and so harassed were the troops sent to reduce him, that Governor Trelawney found it expedient to offer terms of peace. But the condition of it could not be held long in suspense. A treaty, which was to establish the freedom of one body of slaves, could not be allowed to dwell in the contemplation of the others, without imminent risk of a general insurrection. An hasty negociation was therefore closed, by the surrender of the rebels to Colonel Guthrie; and a large cotton-tree, in the defile near Petit River, still marks the spot where this capitulation, memorable in the annals of Jamaica, was effected*. In the following year, the rebels, who still infested the windward districts of the island, under their

A.D. 1738. March 1st.

* The articles of this capitulation may be seen in DALLAS'S *History of the Maroons*, vol. i. p. 58.

intrepid barbarian chief, Quao, surrendered upon nearly the same terms as those accepted by Cudjoe; and under these two treaties, a dangerous body of nearly six hundred emancipated slaves was distributed through the interior of the country, in five different points, — Trelawney Town, Accompong Town, Scot's Hall, Charles Town, and Moore Town.

A.D. 1739.

The wild districts, called Carpenter's Mountains, with other deep forests in the interior, still continuing the undisturbed haunt of runaway slaves, these Maroons were immediately employed in the traitorous task of exterminating their former allies. By thus obtaining an unrestrained intercourse with the slave population, either by searching for deserters, or under pretence of trading in tobacco, and vending the spoil of their hunting parties, they became intimately connected with the slaves on many of the estates; an unforeseen circumstance, which afterwards caused a servile war, of unexampled duration, and ruinous expense.

The reiterated offences which temporizing measures had encouraged the negroes to commit, occasioned frequent capital punishments; and a law was therefore framed, to compel the several parishes to pay the value of all slaves, who, to secure the public peace, should be executed within their respective jurisdictions. Three years afterwards, further punishment was inflicted on runaway slaves, and on those who should harbour them; while various were the enactments regulating the rewards for the capture of fugitives, the destruction of the rebellious, and the restraint of the insubordinate. Within the last eleven years, the slave population had increased from eighty-six thousand to one hundred and twelve thousand. Doubts having arisen in the courts of law, as to the admission of the evidence of free negroes, Indians, or mulattoes, against each other, and impediments having been thrown in the way of justice by the free-born not being liable to be dealt with as slaves, or the manumised, a law was passed, substantiating their evidence against each other, but not against those who enjoyed the

A.D. 1740.

A.D. 1745.

A.D. 1748.

liberties of white persons; while manumised slaves were to be tried as the free-born. Shortly after this, the evidence of slaves against each other was admitted, so far as related to crimes by them committed on the high seas. Owners were also prohibited from selling to their slaves the disposal of their own time; a liberty apparently harmless, if not salutary, but which experience had proved most dangerous; and the services of such as had been long absent from their masters, or should not be claimed within a cer-

A.D. 1757. tain period, were, upon capture, to be applied to the public use.

It now became necessary to define the boundaries of the Trelawney Maroon town, and to allot one thousand acres of land to that of Accompong. These properties

A.D. 1758. were therefore vested in the Maroon negroes, and their heirs, for ever; while the increased rewards, which were regularly paid, encouraged them to pursue deserters with fidelity and success. Various amendments were also made to the laws which regulated the government and condition of the slave population; but these salu-

A.D. 1759. tary measures were of little avail, in winning over by indulgence, or restraining by terror, the impracticable savages of Africa. A conspiracy was formed, in the parish of Saint Mary, amongst the Coromantins; and

A.D. 1760. the massacre of all their white masters was the avowed object of their midnight machinations. The rebellion commenced on Whitehall plantation; and had not the first attempt been promptly met, and happily defeated, the deep-laid plot would probably have exterminated every European in the island. These cruel and warlike Africans had selected the parish of Saint Mary as the spot most fit for the opening scene of their bloody tragedy, because it was the least protected by whites, or opened by cultivation; while it yet abounded with ample resources of sustenance, and means of retreat. The revolt was intended to have been simultaneous in various points, and the concerted signal was, in fact, answered by a formidable rebellion in the distant parish of Westmoreland; while a ferocious negro,

named Tacky, was the chosen general of the whole movement. In the vale of Luidas, and its neighbourhood, the conspirators were betrayed, and their plans providentially frustrated. In Saint Mary they were repulsed, broken, and disheartened. In Westmoreland they were flushed with early victory; murderous success crowned their first efforts; they beat off the militia, increased their ranks to a thousand effective men, and, after a tedious struggle, they could be subdued only by the united exertions of a regiment of regulars, the militia of the neighbouring parishes, and the Maroons of the interior. The most cruel excesses which ever stained the page of history, marked the progress of these rebels; and the detail, which would elucidate barbarity scarcely human, almost chills the warm hope of civilization ever reaching bosoms in which ferocity is so innate.

Another insurrection broke out in the parish of Saint James, and threatened consequences as formidable as those from which the harassed planters had just escaped. The united, but exhausting, efforts of the colony were effectual in the temporary suppression of it; but the dispersed banditti again united, and formed a considerable force, which long infested the Carpenter's mountains, where they were joined by some Clarendon Coromantins, and headed by their experienced Westmoreland chiefs. The rebels in Saint Mary, under Tacky, though dispirited by the failure of their allies, still maintained their ground, until many were destroyed, and their leader shot by a Maroon; when the desperate survivors retreated to a cavern, and, in the true spirit of their nation, received their deaths at each other's hands.

During the progress of these dispersed, yet complicated insurrections, there fell by the hands of the rebel negroes about sixty white persons; while the number on their own side amounted to nearly four hundred. Many of the captives were transported to the Bay of Honduras, and a few were executed under judicial sentence. Fortune and Kingston, two of the most sanguinary of the Saint Mary's ring-

leaders, were hanged in irons, and exposed to lingering torments. The former lived seven days upon the gibbet; the latter survived his agonies until the ninth: and, although the unprovoked murders and outrages committed by these monsters, both upon the whites and upon those of their own colour, could not justify their cruel punishment in a Christian land, yet throughout their tortures they evinced such hardened insolence and brutal insensibility, that even pity was silenced. The pecuniary loss sustained by the island was estimated at one hundred thousand pounds: and the assistance afforded by such of the slaves as had been instrumental in discovering and defeating the conspiracies, was rewarded by purchased manumission, and personal annuities from the colonial treasury.

A.D. 1761. The slave-code was now remodelled; its provisions amended, and its powers enlarged. The punishment of offenders was rendered more effectual; the inveigling of negroes prevented; and the practices of obeah, and midnight assemblies, were, by every means, suppressed. Free negroes were obliged to register their names in the books of their respective parishes, to carry a probationary ticket, and to wear a distinguishing badge.

A.D. 1762. The number of African slaves poured into the island, within the period of these last ten years, amounted to no less than 71,115; and these were sold at an average of thirty pounds sterling each; making the expenditure of capital, upon the cultivation of the colony, during that time, equal to 2,986,830*l.*, or at the rate of 298,683*l.* per annum; while the number of persons so employed increased to 146,805. The free black, and coloured population, was estimated at about 4000. So overwhelming, and so dangerous to the peace of the colony, was the influx of barbarians forced upon Jamaica by British merchants and English laws, during these years of disturbance and destruction; and so great the proportion of Coromantins, who, in their native land, were bred to war, and habituated to blood, that the extinction of the disproportionate planters was seriously apprehended. In the year

1764, the importation amounted to 10,223; and from January 1765, to July 1766, it increased to 16,760. Twenty-seven thousand savages—some of them cannibals, many of them condemned malefactors, in a country, where the measure of crime was unbounded, and a still greater proportion of them captive warriors, burning for revenge, thus turned loose upon a handful of Europeans, dispersed over a wooded island, abounding with almost impenetrable fastnesses, would have quickly made that island their own, had not undaunted bravery, and unshaken patriotism, led its warriors, and inspired its legislators.

A.D. 1765. The custom of keeping large supplies of arms on the plantations, without an adequate force to guard them, had become a strong temptation to the disaffected slave, or the enterprising conspirator; and dear-bought experience now tardily suggested the remedy; while every measure which prudence could prompt was enforced, to baffle the machinations and counteract the designs of the threatening insurgents. Barracks were erected in different protecting points; and the penal slave-code was rendered more imposing, by every means which the Governor could sanction, or the Assembly enforce.

It was well known, that many of the Coromantins, who had been in arms whilst their cause appeared promising, had now withdrawn themselves from the rebellious ranks, and returned to their work, affecting great abhorrence at the outrageous conduct of their countrymen; and it was expected that, in Saint Mary, these people, who had taken their inviolable oath, the Fetishe, were now only waiting for a favourable opportunity to recommence their sanguinary attempts. And so it eventually happened. In July, 1765, they held their midnight meetings; with horrid ceremonies they renewed their oaths, and fixed on the ensuing Christmas for the opening of an extended insurrection.

A.D. 1765. Nov. 29. But the impatience of some of them disconcerted the plans of all: it fortunately led to a premature attempt to murder the white settlers on Whitehall estate, and to the eventual suppression of this formidable band; not,

however, without the loss of many a valuable life, and the expenditure of a vast treasure, which the colony could ill afford.

The committee of the House of Assembly, instructed to investigate the circumstances attending this rebellion, reported, that, like all those which occurred before, it had originated with the Coromantins; and it was proposed, therefore, "that a bill should be brought in for laying an additional duty upon the Fantin, Akim, and Ashantee negroes, and all others, commonly called Coromantins, that should be imported and sold in the island." But the prejudice of some of the members, who conceived that the Coromantin negro was endowed with the useful qualifications of superior strength, outweighed the precautionary suggestion. The public tranquillity was sacrificed to this visionary conceit, and the salutary measure was unfortunately neglected.

A.D. 1766. Another rebellion was the expected and speedy consequence; and nineteen white persons fell a sacrifice, in the short space of one hour, to the knives of a few merciless Coromantins, in the parish of Westmoreland. In various other points, conspiracies were daily developed; insubordination and alarm reigned universally; the gaols were crowded with dangerous criminals; and the harassed planters were provoked, by the continual murders of their dearest relations, to the infliction of those heavy and, in some cases, sanguinary punishments, which have been foully charged against their innocent descendants.

"It is worthy of remark," says Long, "that the ringleaders of the Saint Mary's rebellion in 1760, belonged to a gentleman distinguished for his humanity and excessive indulgence towards his slaves in general, and those in particular; his lenity so far influenced him, that, upon their complaint, he never failed to discharge their overseer, and employ another more agreeable to them. No pretence of ill-usage was alleged by any of the prisoners in any of these insurrections by way of extenuating their misconduct; the sole ground and object of their taking arms, as they unanimously concurred in acknowledging, was the vain-

glorious desire of subduing the country; and they wanted neither ambition nor self-confidence to doubt their ability or success in accomplishing this project. It must be allowed that conspiracies so extensive could not have been conceived, methodized, and concluded upon without various meetings of the conspirators in different parts of the island; and hence there must appear to have been a very culpable inattention among the white inhabitants who neglected to keep a vigilant eye over the Coromantins in general during their hours of leisure or recreation; for a seasonable regard to their private cabals, and separate associations, might have proved the means of detecting their plot long before it was ripe for execution; and to prevent is always better, as well as easier, than to remedy such evils. They should remember the dying words of one of the Coromantins, executed in 1765, who repented his having been concerned in the rebellion, and cautioned the white persons present 'never to trust any of his countrymen.'"

In order to give greater effect to the provisions of the slave-code, a law had been passed in the year 1760, ordaining that two justices and three freeholders should have the power to inflict capital punishment on slaves convicted of the practice of obeah, or found in arms; while every encouragement was given to the Maroons and others who should destroy or capture deserters, measures which now began to operate more powerfully in the suppression of such outrages as had of late years disgraced Jamaica and drained its resources. The proof of this fact was soon apparent in the comparative peace which prevailed; for no internal commotion of any serious magnitude disturbed the colony during the succeeding twenty years, nor indeed until the breaking out of the fatal Maroon rebellion in the year 1795.

To the published narrative* of that unfortunate war, whose destructive consequences are still deplored by almost every family in the island, I must refer my reader; it embraces too wide a field of political history and interesting fact to be abridged.

* By R. C. Dallas, Esq., 2 vols. 1803.

After the various chances of a most extraordinary species of warfare, with an enormous sacrifice of public money and private interest, the authorities of Jamaica adopted the salutary, yet censured, measure of terrifying into reasonable terms of peace those untractable enemies whom they found themselves unable to conquer. Forty chasseurs, with one hundred bloodhounds, were imported from Cuba. Their appearance alone produced the desired effect. Nothing more was required of them than that they should move with the troops; and wherever they went terror anticipated their use, and cleared the way without bloodshed. Parties of the Maroons, whom force could not subdue nor entreaty induce to yield, immediately came in and were soon followed by larger bodies, who surrendered themselves under the terms of a treaty framed by General Walpole, to the following effect:—

A.D. 1795.

1st.—That they would, upon their knees, beg his Majesty's pardon.

2nd.—That they would go to the Old Town, Montego Bay, or to any other place that might be pointed out, and would settle on whatever lands the governor, council, and assembly might think proper to allot.

3rd.—That they would give up all runaways who had joined them.

To these simple articles General Walpole was compelled, by the urgent posture of affairs, to add another and a secret one, which promised that the Maroons should not be sent off the island, and which he ratified on oath. Thus concluded a most fearful warfare, without recourse being had to the active assistance of the chasseurs, and certainly in the very way which the sincere philanthropist would most desire; for it kept up a constant apprehension in the minds of the lingering warriors, whereby they were all soon induced to quit the woods and yield. They evinced a natural horror at such a species of pursuit, by stipulating that, in their transport to the coast, the dogs should be separated from them by a line of troops. Nor did three months of hard

fighting and provoking butchery rouse their patient adversaries to the commission of any outrage, or any further use of the ferocious bloodhounds; while the temperance displayed by the troops, and the spirit of tender compassion evinced by the authorities which governed their movements, have been ill repaid by the insidious use of what was, in fact, a humane measure, to cast an odium upon an innocent and suffering people.

The colonists are reviled for using such means to tame their savage adversaries; they, however, esteemed it more easy and less sanguinary to frighten them from their haunts by stratagem than to dislodge them by force; and in the means they used they merely followed the example of the British conquerors of North America, who, fortunately for their reputation, lived in times more charitable. In the Annual Register for the year 1765, is the following record:—

"Forty-eight couple of bloodhounds were lately shipped from Bristol for North America, where it is thought they will be very serviceable in discovering the track of the hostile Indians."

Unhappily for the faith of treaties, it was found not only expedient, but absolutely necessary, that the secret article of the capitulation should be infringed by what was now the stronger power. The fulfilment of that article would have harboured such dangerous enemies in the very heart of the country, that, while neither party hoped for a cordial reconciliation, the one anticipated and the other became resigned to the only measure which could possibly reconcile such opposing interests. The removal of the Maroons was considered on all hands an act of mercy. Twenty-five thousand pounds were appropriated to the purpose of rendering them every consistent comfort, and three transports conveyed them all to Halifax, when they were settled in the neighbouring township of Preston; but whence they were afterwards restored to the land from which they had originated, and received by the company of the Sierra Leone.

A.D. 1796. June 6.

In the mean time, the sanguinary revolt of the negroes in

Saint Domingo, the breaking out of the war between Great Britain and France, with the premature abolition of slavery in the colonies of the latter power, by its revolutionary proclamations, rendered this extinction of a dangerous internal enemy an opportune and happy event. Jamaica was now again placed in a new and most fearful position. Yet the intense anxiety of the public mind, roused as it was by the near approach of danger, produced no events to disturb the peace which reigned here after the transportation of the Trelawney Maroons.

But the year 1798 was pregnant with new alarms; a formidable band of deserters, led by the negro Cuffee, came down from the Trelawney mountains upon the neighbouring settlements. The field of former contests, still moist with gore, and so soon again re-occupied, recalled sensations of the utmost horror, coupled as they now were with the apprehensions which the affairs of Saint Domingo excited, and the bloody baptism which the revolutionary Toussant threatened. The Assembly was immediately convened; three companies of woodsmen, composed of Indians, trusty slaves, and free persons of colour, were raised and employed with the Accompong Maroons, who, throughout every contest, had remained firm to their own interests.

A force so constituted soon fulfilled the expectations of its commander; the rebels were dispersed, and heard of no more, while a reviving ray of prosperity for an instant gleamed upon Jamaica; but it was such an one as too frequently precedes a storm, and its short duration was succeeded by the event which was naturally expected from the levelling principles which the French revolution had infused in a neighbouring isle. Saint Domingo was evacuated; twelve hundred emigrants were poured into Jamaica, and these fugitives brought multitudes of slaves, barbarous by habit, contaminated in principle, and now suddenly freed from the restraints of labour and of law.

Toussant, the revolutionary chief in Saint Domingo, was averse to an open attack on Jamaica, or perhaps he was lukewarm in the sanguinary cause of the infamous San-

thorax. He appeared, indeed, confident that, by easier means the island would become a prey to the reigning principles. Incendiary proclamations were abundantly supplied by France; and Citizen Roome put in action all the seductive arts of Jacobinism to cause a simultaneous rising of the negroes in this devoted colony. Toussant, however, acted a nobler part; his information to the British agent in Saint Domingo disclosed the mission of two infamous spies, Duboison and Sasportas, who were sent here to revolutionize the slaves previous to Roome's meditated attack. Duboison confessed, and saved his life. Sasportas was taken in a gaming-house in Kingston, tried, convicted, and hanged on the Parade there; and his execution laid open a scheme which it required all the vigilance of the colonists to counteract. A number of muskets were discovered in the sand near the Polygon at Fort Charles; and a box of national cockades, which had been committed to the waves in the harbour to be floated ashore, was picked up between Fort Augusta and Port Henderson. These and many similar attempts to create insurrection, and furnish means for its success, excited the most reasonable apprehension, but were attended by no circumstances of material consequence to the island; for the slaves had already felt the conciliatory effects of that system of melioration which has since ripened into the fruits of serene contentment, under the mildest species of servitude which ever reigned in the world. They possessed sagacity enough to be convinced that their happiness depended upon something more substantial than mere civil freedom, and that their condition could not be improved by any attempt to obtain it through such means. They had before their eyes a dreadful example of its confounding effects, and they fortunately saw it in its true and obvious light.

To this mental and physical improvement, which operated so forcibly and so happily, in restraining the slave-population of Jamaica within due bounds of submission, another accident had also materially contributed. The separation of the United States from the parent kingdom had driven

many young men, of birth and education, to seek that peace and employment in a foreign land, which their own had now denied them; and several of these emigrating royalists settled in this island, bringing with them fixed principles, and faithful slaves, who were much further advanced in the scale of civilised society than the plantation negroes, amongst whom they were here dispersed, and over whom their example soon spread its beneficial influence. A very material change had also been effected in the sentiments of the proprietors and managers of estates; and as manners ever precede the march of laws, where the people have a share in framing them, those enactments, which disgraced the statute-book, were either effaced, or rendered of no effect; a milder system of restraint soon succeeded; and further indulgences were called for by the general voice of the considerate inhabitants.

The negro slave-code, which, until lately, governed the labouring classes of Jamaica, was originally copied from that of Barbadoes; and the legislature of that colony resorted, for a precedent, to the ancient villeinage laws, then scarcely extinct on British ground. They copied thence the principles which ruled, and the severity which characterised, the feudal system under the Saxon government.

Not seventy years prior to the settlement of Barbadoes, a remarkable badge of servitude had been imposed on British subjects, by the statute against vagabonds, which adjudged them, expressly and absolutely, to positive slavery; inflicting violent punishments on the disobedient, stigmatising runaways by branding, and, for the second offence, decreeing death. The same law empowered the master to rivet an iron ring round the neck of his slave, affixing the penalty of ten pounds upon the person removing it; and it repeats the word "*slave*," so odious to British ears, no less than thirty-eight times.

Such remained the effective law of England in the year 1553; and it was only thirty years after that period that Barbadoes fell into the possession of the Lord High Trea-

surer. The enactments regarding negro slaves in the colonies were, therefore, naturally enough, transcribed from these late precedents at home, where the name and the character of slavery was thus familiar. As late as the year 1574, we find British slaves manumised, under a commission from Queen Elizabeth, who, at the same time, and for her own private gratification, was carrying thousands of Africans to bondage. The early settlers in the West Indies might be expected to carry with them, as they did, those ancient prejudices in favour of the villeinage system, which coincided with their ideas of the active government, and necessary restraint, of wild Africans; from whose sanguinary dispositions they naturally apprehended the most dreadful consequences.

The slaves of Jamaica might, perhaps, have fared somewhat better, had their masters, instead of following this Barbadoes precedent, taken the Athenian slave-code for their guide; but the idea of assimilating to the practice of an earlier colony, and of the mother-state, was natural to young legislators; while the strict military government of Colonel D'Oyley, during the first seven years, effectually established the authority, and confirmed the rule.

The imported Africans were wild, savage, and barbarous, in the extreme; their untractable passions, and ferocious temperament, rendered severity necessary: they provoked the iron rule of harsh authority; and the earliest laws, constructed to restrain their unexampled atrocities, were rigid and inclement. They exhibited, in fact, such depravity of nature and deformity of mind, as gave colour to the prevailing belief in a natural inferiority of intellect; so that the colonists conceived it to be a crime of no greater moral magnitude to kill a negro, than to destroy a monkey; however rare their interest in them, as valuable property, rendered such a lamentable test of conscience. As soon as the African trade was regularly established, and became a national concern, the Parliament of Britain accorded with the general idea, and even the King himself became a slave-merchant. The negroes were, therefore, legally considered

as commercial goods, and disposable property. Rooted by time, and sanctioned by such high authority, the prejudices of the early planters obstructed the infliction of capital punishment on those white persons who should deprive a negro of life; but they at length gave way to more enlightened views of the subject, and all cruel or severe punishments were abolished by the consolidated slave-law of 1784; which, though at first enacted for a limited time, soon became perpetual in its duration, and effectual in its humane restraint. Since improved for the benefit of the slave, it is still his main protection, and the magna charta of those liberties, which, in point of fact, though not of technical legality, raise him to a level with the labouring classes in many parts of civilised Europe. Under its provisions, persons wilfully killing a slave, whether their own property, or belonging to another, are to suffer death; mutilating slaves is punished by a fine of one hundred pounds, and twelve months' imprisonment; and in atrocious cases, the slave is to be manumised, and allowed an annuity. Persons cruelly beating slaves, or keeping them in confinement without support, are to be punished by fine or imprisonment, or both. The justices and vestry are appointed a council of protection for such slaves, and required to prosecute with effect the owners or offenders. No slave is to receive more than thirty-nine lashes for any offence, on any account, in one day; nor can the punishment be repeated until the delinquent has recovered. No slave can be punished by having iron collars, weights, or chains, put on them. Slaves are to be allowed one day in every fortnight, out of crop, exclusive of Sundays, to cultivate their grounds; and are to have sufficient clothes allowed them—to be approved by the justices and vestry. All offences committed by slaves, beyond petty delinquencies, which may be inquired into before the magistrates, are to be tried before a jury; and if the sentence be death, it must be by hanging by the neck, and in no other manner. Slaves are not to work in the field before five o'clock in the morning, nor after seven o'clock in the evening; and are to have half-an-hour for breakfast,

and two hours for dinner. Female slaves, who have reared six children, are to be exempt from all labour, and the owner is to have the taxes remitted on slaves so privileged*.

Such are some of those cardinal points of melioration which form the ladder, by which the slave will eventually, though gradually, climb to salutary enfranchisement. The timely indulgences which this law afforded, and the mild government of the Earl of Balcarres, taught the great body of Jamaica serfs, during an awful period of danger and excitement, that it was their true interest to withstand all those efforts of revolutionary Jacobinism, which were exerted by the emancipated, yet wretched, negroes of the neighbouring island of Saint Domingo. Jamaica stood the shock, firm in principle, and humane in the government of a servile race which it has been her misfortune to possess.

Great Britain has drained millions from her industry; but ungratefully condemns the system which has poured such wealth into her coffers, reared her navy, and maintained her wars. It has been asserted, that the island would have been as productive under the culture of *free* men, white or black, as under the hands of slaves: but this argument is founded on an assumption, that the human frame is precisely the same in all the varieties of climate; and that the physical powers of man are equal through all the regions of the earth. The most transient view of nature will, however, confound these inexperienced philosophers, and prove the fallacy of such a postulate. A native of the torrid zone would freeze in a temperate climate; while a Greenlander could never be reconciled to the privation of his native snows. The armies returned from service in the West Indies prove that the tone of an European is soon relaxed by the heat of a tropical sun, under whose influence whole regiments have melted away, within a very few years, without a remedy, yet without exertion. In order to impel men, of any description, to bodily exertion, the stimulus of

* A Digest of the present slave-code of Jamaica has lately been published by Mr. Lunan, one of the members of Assembly. It is a work which, if better known, would correct many popular prejudices.

an external force, or imperious want, must necessarily be exerted. Cold creates many wants; while those of warmer latitudes are comparatively but few. Houses are here easily erected; clothing, more for decorum than defence, is cheap; and food easily supplied. The soil in these climes is in a state of incessant and spontaneous production; and where the luxury of rest becomes, as it does here, paramount to every other luxury, men will never voluntarily subject themselves to the pains of toil, to force from nature that which they feel no need of. The fear of evil is far more urgent to the springs of human action, than the hope of good; and the favourite example of Indian labour in the East, is not a case in point against our position in the West. *There* the fear of evil operates upon a population too numerous to subsist upon the productions of the soil, unless fertilised by incessant culture; for, when they cease to labour, they begin to starve.

It is a fact of melancholy import to the prosperity of Great Britain, that the sugar-colonies, in their present state of slender population, can only be wrought by slaves, or by persons so much under command as to be obliged to labour whether they will or not. How far the end can sanctify the means, is an inquiry not to be here pursued, but of this all impartial spectators must be assured,—that the means already adopted to effect emancipation, are active in their operation, and will be certain in their result.

The transition from slavery to the exercise of the plenary rights of citizenship has not been sudden in any age or country. At Lacedæmon the freed men were not admitted to the assemblies of the people, and held no office in the government. At Athens their liberty was not entire; and at Rome they were obliged to submit to the degrading badge of a shaved head and a cap;—whence "the cap of liberty." But a feeling, highly creditable to those who are now unfortunately possessed of slaves, is manifested by them all, even at the risk of their properties. To render the negroes worthy of perfect freedom, and capable of bearing all its social duties, is the universal object; while the melioration already

effected, and which points directly to enfranchisement, renders their present servitude so mild, that far less of human misery is to be found in Jamaica, than in many equal portions of civilized Europe. Nay, it is a fact, and a fact which will no doubt startle the English reader, that South Carolina and Jamaica were the first to object to the continuance of the slave-trade. The remonstrance of the one was unheeded, and the traffic was declared necessary to the prosperity of the Empire. The legislative act of this island was negatived by its Governor, upon the same ground. In the year 1774, the House of Assembly here again passed two Bills to restrict the slave-trade; but the inhabitants of Liverpool and Bristol so strongly petitioned against the measure, that the Board of Trade decided against humanity and Jamaica. Nor did the matter rest here; the calls of justice, if not of policy, were again urged by the planters; and the Earl of Dartmouth made this signal declaration: "that he would never allow the colonies to check, or discourage, in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation."

The present change of system, or of sentiment, though tardy in its operation, and inconsistent in its detail, is no doubt much to the credit of the British nation; but let these historical facts have their due weight; and instead of Jamaica being stigmatised as "an accursed land of slavery," her rights violated, and her inhabitants held up as objects of popular detestation, let her have her *greater* share of merit, for having been the first to urge a measure which, had it been adopted, would long ere this have enfranchised all her labourers. The present possessors of slaves are still willing to bear their proportion, with the whole British nation, of the loss which must result from emancipation. All were equally guilty in the act, and all must unite in the effort to repair it. But, until the British nation, which has the power, and holds the purse, will point out the means, and secure the end, the colonists are justified in their apprehension of crude schemes which threaten them with utter ruin. Benevolence beams in every page of those earnest appeals to British philanthropy, which urge the immediate extinction of colonial servitude,

yet the certain ruin of so many helpless families is not considered; while every argument is falsely founded on the uncharitable assumption of cruelty in the master, and superlative misery in the slave; an error which may be corrected by any one who has been in the British West Indies, and who possesses integrity enough to stem the tide of popular clamour, by making a faithful report of his observations.

Faint is the hope, and scanty is the produce of those harvests which are raised by the reluctant toil of such as are condemned to a bare subsistence, and are careless of the interests of a rapacious master. But that is not the case in this plenteous isle, where a teeming soil produces a wasteful abundance. The common definition of slavery is *the establishment of a right founded on force, which right renders man the property of man; so that he becomes the absolute master of his property, his liberty, and his life.* But here the chartered rights of British liberty protect alike the master and the slave. Abolish that odious name, and the Serfs of Jamaica will be found at least as free as those of Britain, at the time that Europe was moulded into the feudal system, when servile labour and blind obedience were imposed upon a people far more civilized than these. The yoke of that servitude was gradually loosened, and the seeds of any further freedom will here be scattered to the winds, if the soil be not well prepared for their cultivation. The institutions which are conformable to the genius and wants of a people, or an age, establish themselves without difficulty, and diffuse themselves without force; and of all human institutions, that of slavery is the most difficult to arrange without oppression, or to abolish without tumult. A much longer time must necessarily be required to wipe the stain of barbaric life from those who have been fettered, mind and body, through ages beyond all record, than from such as were conversant with the distant scenes or common report of improved society.

The negroes, however, have made considerable progress in religious attainments, and might probably have advanced farther had they not been distracted by the division of sects,

A reasoning Protestant will agree to the truth of the observation, that the Christianity of the nineteenth century is far more difficult of digestion than that of the fifth. The negroes separated from their images and superstition, which in Africa kept possession of their minds by continually striking their senses, and transported to these islands, have lost hold of the firmest foundation of their idolatrous faith. Temples, altars, tombs, and consecrated places, were here all on the side of the new religion, which naturally insinuated itself into the void of credulity left craving in their minds;—they first wondered, and then believed.

History, indeed, cannot afford a parallel case, to direct the projected and desirable abolition of negro servitude; but it suggests some conclusions which are just, and may be salutary. We have seen, in the sketch before us, that European slavery melted, under time and circumstance, into the feudal system; and that that system at length dissolved in liberty: but it was the management of the operation which formed the character of the process, and fixed the features of the future people. In Italy it was rapid and terrible; in England and France, gradual and salutary; and in Germany it produced a firmness and solidity which long continued the pride and protection of its states. The process of recasting the rude material of a barbarous people in the refined mould of harmonious society, is at the least as delicate an operation as the formation of sonorous bodies, where the fused metals settling in their form are utterly destroyed by the least percussion of the air—the tones are discord, and the labour vain.

> ——— "Liberty is that,
> Which lends both lustre and perfume to life,
> And we are weeds without it."

But the fall of servitude in America, as well as in the East, the last of Britain's possessions where evanescent slavery yet lingers, must be the result of fact and circumstance, rather than of imagination, however charitable, or theory, however just.

A TABLE, showing the Number of Slaves in Jamaica at the expiration of each Year of the first Quarter of the Nineteenth Century.

A.D.		Number of Slaves.		Increase or Decrease.
1800	.....	300,939		
1801	.....	307,094	increase	6,155
1802	.....	307,199	increase	105
1803	.....	308,668	increase	1,469
1804	.....	308,542	decrease	126
1805	.....	308,775	increase	233
1806	.....	312,341	increase	3,566
1807	.....	119,351	decrease	192,990
1808	(Abolition of the slave-trade).	323,827	increase	204,476
1809	.....	323,714	decrease	113
1810	.....	313,683	decrease	10,031
1811	.....	326,830	increase	13,147
1812	.....	319,912	decrease	6,918
1813	.....	317,424	decrease	2,488
1814	.....	315,385	decrease	2,039
1815	.....	313,814	decrease	1,571
1816	.....	314,038	increase	224
1817	(Registry Act in operation) ...	345,252	increase	31,214
1818	.....	337,714	decrease	7,538
1819	.....	326,958	decrease	10,756
1820	.....	324,989	decrease	1,969
1821	.....	327,109	increase	2,120
1822	.....	321,314	decrease	5,795
1823	.....	319,269	decrease	2,045
1824	.....	317,138	decrease	2,131
1825	.....	314,305	decrease	2,833

Section II.

The Introduction of Christianity to the Western Isles; and the subsequent State of the Church in the British Colony of Jamaica.

Part First.

The conquest of America, in the first age of its discovery, was a species of crusade; and twenty thousand soldiers of Christ were speedily enrolled, to convert, or exterminate, the unfortunate Indians whom they found there. Christianity appeared, not as a suppliant, but as a persecuting conqueror; and the natives knew it only by the form of baptism, and the severity of punishment. The numerous vermin of mendicant friars, Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, Augustins, who swarmed in the fifteenth century, with habits and institutions variously ridiculous, disgraced religion, learning, and common sense. America, discovered at that precise period when Spain considered her prosperity to be dependent on the multitudes of her religious foundations, partook necessarily of the effects of that opinion, and was speedily covered with churches and convents, rather from motives of policy than the dictates of religion *. Thousands of ecclesiastics were vomited upon these strange shores, where they adopted every means, which art and power could invent, to persuade the Indians that God would execute present and eternal vengeance, for errors they never committed, and for not believing doctrines which they never heard. The alternative of death, or baptism, was offered to them; and a superstitious age applauded the triumph of Christian faith.

A.D. 1493.

* At the present moment (1826) the revenue of the Spanish clergy is double the expenditure of the nation!

The banner of the Cross was thus unfurled to a population of two hundred millions of souls, by the Bull of Pope Alexander VI., in the year 1493. The Court of Rome was considered as the secretaryship of the divinity, and the Roman Pontiffs claimed an universal monarchy, temporal as well as spiritual; maintaining that all inferior powers—emperors, kings, and bishops, derived from the Chair of Saint Peter their delegated authority. But the man who thus arrogated the right of gift over the largest quarter of the earth happened to be one of the most disgraceful guardians of the triple crown; and, as if the Almighty had renounced all concurrence with one who so dishonoured the dignity of his worship, it has been historically remarked, that nothing ever prospered in which he took a part*.

Before he arrived at the Papal dignity, he had several children by a woman named Vonotia; and, upon succeeding to the Chair, he formed the strange project of crowning one of his spurious offspring Emperor of Germany, that he might so terminate the quarrels raging between the priesthood and the empire. Full of this romantic idea, he flattered himself that if he could purchase the interest of the Spanish court, he should securely effect his ambitious purpose; and he lost no opportunity, omitted no act of servile attention, by which he might evince his zeal, or prove his attachment, to Ferdinand and Isabella. Three months after the intelligence of the discovery of a western hemisphere had arrived, he hastened to give it to the crown of Spain, before he even knew what it was, or where it was situated.

* The atrocious conduct of this Pontiff was the subject of the following lines—a worthy comment on papal infallibility:—

"Vendit Alexander claves, altaria Christum,
Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius.
Sextus Tarquinius, sextus Nero, sextus et ipse,
Semper sub sextis perdita Roma fuit.
De vitio in vitium, de flamma cessit in ignem
Roma sub Hispano deperitura jugo."

The reigning family of Great Britain, in the line of the House of Este-Brunswick, was sullied by the nuptials of Alphonso I. with the infamous Lucretia, one of the daughters of this Pope.

Had not history accustomed us to be credulous in whatever relates to the See of Rome; were we not familiarized with the chicanery, and sated with the pretensions, of the priesthood there; we could scarcely believe it possible that a powerless, designing ecclesiastic should, with one stroke of his pen, convey the vast empires of Montezuma and Atabaliba, with the territories of more than three hundred different nations, to a petty European prince, already tottering on a throne whose foundations were sapped by the savage brigands of Africa. If the Grand Lama, or a Tartarian Khan, in the plenitude of his power, had given away Italy and Spain to a Calmuc chief, these nations would belong to Tartary precisely by the same right which the Castilians, during more than a century, exercised over the entire continent and all the islands of America, under this spurious title of Alexander*. Yet the donation served as an authority,

* This curious document was entitled *Decretum ad Indultum Alexandri Sexti super Expeditione in Barbaros novi orbis quos Indos vocant;* and is still extant in the following words:—

"Ut tanti negotii provinciam Apostolicæ gratiæ largitate donati, liberius et audacius assumatis: motu proprio, non ad vestram vel alterius pro vobis super hoc nobis oblatæ petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera liberalitate, et ex certa scientia ac de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, omnes insulas, et terras firmas, inventas et inveniendas, detectas et detegendas, versus Occidentem, et Meridiem (fabricando et construendo unam lineam à polo Arctico, scilicet Septentrione, ad polum Antarcticum, scilicet Meridiem, quæ linea distet à qualibet insularum, quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores, et Cabo verde, centum leucas versus occidentem, et meridiem) auctoritate Omnipotentis Dei, nobis in beato Petro concessa, ac Vicariatus Jesu-Christi qua fungimur in terris, cum omnibus illarum dominiis, civitatibus, castris, locis, et villis, juribusque et jurisdictionibus, ac pertinentiis universis, vobis, hæredibusque, et successoribus vestris (Castillæ et Legionis regibus) perpetuam tenore præsentium donamus, concedimus, et assignamus, vosque, et hæredes, et successores præfatos, illarum Dominos, cum plena, libera, et omnimodâ potestate, auctoritate, et jurisdictione, facimus, constituimus, et deputamus. Nulli ergo omnium hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ commendationis, deputationis, decreti, mandati, donationis infringere, vel ei, ausu temerario, contraire. Si quis, autem, hoc attentare præsumserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri ac Pauli Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum.

"Datis Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, 1493—quarto nonas Maji, Pontificatus nostri anno primo."

Upon this monument of human extravagance, Benzo remarks, "Quo jure

by which the Spaniards took possession of a quarter of the globe; while a crucifix, erected on the newly-discovered shores of an Indian tribe, subjected those unhappy beings, who only fought to retain their native freedom, to all the pains and penalties of rebellious subjects.

The administration under this extraordinary deed of gift, and the publication of the gospel in these distant regions of the habitable world, were entrusted to a company of twelve chosen priests, in imitation of the twelve apostles; while over them was placed a Benedictine Catalonian, of the name of Pierre Buellio *, who came to Hispaniola with Columbus, on the 22nd of November, 1493. Soon after his arrival, the infamous conduct of this man called forth the indignation of Columbus, whom, in the paltry spirit of impotent revenge, he vainly excommunicated; and then, returning to Spain, succeeded, by his intrigues, in causing the temporary disgrace of the great discoverer.

From such corrupt sources flowed the first stream of Christian light upon the dark paganism of the New World. We cannot, therefore, be surprised at finding a long catalogue of crimes, which chill the blood, daily perpetrated beneath the sacred cloak of that religion whose character is innocence, and whose object is humanity. The grant was made to the kings of Spain, under the title of "El Patrimonio Real," and with a due regard to the monstrous patronage of the See of Rome; for it was upon the express condition of a gratuitous maintenance for all the friars, priests, and Jesuits, which might be sent there. And papal

dare potuit Papa?"—by what right does he give away all this? unless that, as Christ is Lord of Heaven and Earth, he calls himself his High Steward! —*Hist. Novi Orbis*, lib. iii. cap. 3.

* Quelques auteurs veulent que les Nègres ayent porté le mal vénérien de l'Afrique aux Indes Occidentales: mais cette opinion, cent fois réfutée, est d'autant moins soutenable que ces auteurs n'ont jamais connu la véritable époque de l'arrivée des premiers Nègres au nouveau monde. Quoqu'il soit difficile de la fixer, on sait cependant, avec certitude, qu'elle est postérieure aux temps auxquels les compagnons de C. Colomb, et sur tout un certain Margarita, et ce moine Buellio, amenèrent le mal vénérien de St. Dominique en Europe.—Dans l'histoire général de Ferreras ce fougueux Missionaire est appellé Pierre Boil, Supérieur de l'ordre de Saint Benoit.

policy, having thus opened a road to America, troops of Jesuits, the aptest scholars of Rome's intrigues, were the first to be conveyed thither. The King was bound to maintain them ten years; while they brought with them, as Gage observes, "like Job's messengers, damnation and misery, under pretence of religion."

The first natives of the New World who were baptised and instructed were the seven islanders whom Columbus carried to Spain on his first return thither, and to whom the royal family, with all the pomp which the church could lend, stood sponsors. These people returned with Columbus; and the intelligence which they had acquired greatly assisted him in his further intercourse with the natives.

The good intentions of Queen Isabella—for she at least was sincere in the cause of humanity—were completely frustrated by the interested intrigues of her wretched ministers. The sacred current of religion, flowing from its pure original source in the Old World, could not but be corrupted in its passage, through such impure channels, to the New; and her desire to shed the blessings of Christianity upon the many millions of subjects she had suddenly become possessed of, was not only rendered ineffectual, but perverted to the destruction of the objects of her solicitude. The remainder of her life was spent in vain attempts to remedy the unforeseen evil, which, even in her last moments, weighed heavily on her mind *.

A.D. 1504.

* Herrera recites the following clause from her will, which proves the anxiety with which she watched over these newly-acquired portions of her dominions:—

"Elle déclare que sa principale intention est de pacifier, et peupler, les Indes, de convertir à la foi les habitans du pays, et d'envoyer des religieux pour les instruire. Elle supplie, tres affectueusement, le Roi, son mari et seigneur, et commande à la princesse sa fille, et au prince son fils, d'accomplir là-dessus sa dernière volonté, et de ne pas consentir que les Indiens des terres conquises et à conquérir reçoivent aucun tort, tant en leurs personnes, qu'en leurs biens; mais qu', au contraire, ils soient traités humainement, et que, s'ils ont déja reçu quelque tort, on y remédie."

Let her memory, then, be free from the opprobrium which must attach to the actors in the barbarous tragedy which destroyed the free-born sons of these western isles.

While her subjects, with bloody steps, were tracing their path, and extending their discoveries on terra firma, the island of Hispaniola witnessed the completion of one project, which she had long laboured to effect, but which various accidents had hitherto delayed. She had been persuaded, by the false reports of her agents, that Christianity was actually making a rapid progress through that island; and she had applied to Pope Julian II. to erect some sees, requesting an archbishop for the province of Xeragua, with two suffragans for Larez de Guahaba and La Conception de la Vega. The Pope consented; and the Queen named three of her subjects, of distinguished merit, to the new dignities: Peter de Deza, a Dominican, and nephew of the Archbishop of Seville; Father Garcias de Padilla, a Franciscan; and the Licentiate, Alfonso Mansa, a canon of Salamanca. Unforeseen obstacles delayed the despatch of the bulls; and Isabella, in the mean time, died. The two first places she had named were falling into decay; and no longer held their former rank. Ferdinand, urged however by the request of his dying Queen, to whom he owed his crown, entered partially into her views, and framed a new arrangement, which was approved of by the Holy Father. It was proposed to suppress the metropolitan see of Xeragua, and to erect San Domingo, La Conception, and Saint John of Portorico, into suffragan bishopries of Seville. The same nomination was confirmed to the same subjects. Deza, to La Conception; Mansa, to Saint John; and Padilla, to San Domingo. The first-fruits and tenths of every earthly produce (except the metals),—the pearls and precious stones, the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction; in fact, all the same rights and privileges which the bishops of Castile enjoyed, were conferred by the Pope on these three new sees. But, in perfecting this arrangement, the King made an agreement with the three bishops, whereby they engaged, for themselves and their successors, to distribute the tenths to the clergy, to the hospitals, and to the manufactories; moreover, that the ecclesiastical dignities and benefices should be in the gift of the sovereign alone. Another important point was

settled; namely, that the bishops should alone regulate the mode of wearing the ecclesiastical habits, and the *corona clericorum*; "that the crown of the first tonsure should be no larger than a Castilian ryal; the hair two fingers' breadth above the ear, and a little lower behind; that the exterior habit should be a robe, either open or close, but reaching to the feet, and neither red, nor green, nor any indecent colour; that they should not receive into holy orders any but such as spoke the Latin language fluently, nor more than one child of the same father; that it might not be suspected that they wished to take every child into the priesthood."

A.D. 1511. A dispute now arose amongst the new clergy, singular in its origin, disgraceful in its progress, and unfortunate in its result. The islands continuing to lose their natural inhabitants, all the ordinances of the King being still found insufficient to restrain the tyranny of their savage oppressors, the interests of religion, and the impulse of humanity urged the Dominicans to arm themselves with apostolical authority for the suppression of such scandalous outrages. Montesino, one of their preachers, reputed for his unaffected piety and natural eloquence, took the opportunity offered by the presence of the Admiral, with the heads of the colony, to mount the pulpit of San Domingo, and thence to declaim loudly against the cruelty with which the helpless Indians were treated. This act of zeal, which touched the Castilians in the most tender point, excited murmurs of discontent, and the worthy father soon became an object of rancorous persecution. The officers of the crown applied to the Admiral to reprimand him, and he was accused of treason for daring to impugn the justice of the King. He referred the matter to Cordova, the superior of the convent, who declared that the preacher had done no more than his duty. The authorities, indignant at this opposition, determined on driving the Dominicans from the island, unless recantation were made from the pulpit. Montesino promised to preach in another style, and engaged to satisfy those who conceived themselves injured by his remarks. An immense congregation was accordingly assem-

bled; but, far from adopting a different tone, he maintained the propriety of what he had already said, deducing his arguments as well from the interest of the state as from the obligations of religion. His adversaries, still more indignant at his resolute integrity, wrote to the King, and confided their complaints to Alphonso d'Espinar, a Franciscan, of indifferent abilities, but of honest principles.

On the other hand, the Dominicans, seeing the Franciscans declare against them, and supported by some of the most distinguished persons in the colony, despatched Montesino to plead his cause in the presence of the King. This intrepid priest found the court prejudiced against him; but at length he obtained a favourable reception, and succeeded so far as to procure an order for assembling a special council more fully to investigate the contested points. This council was held at Burgos; and in it the Bishop of Valencia presided over eleven ecclesiastics. So confident were the Castilian colonists of their eventual success against the feeble efforts of humanity, that agents were sent from the West Indies to urge the policy, if not the justice, of unlimited slavery; and to demand that the Indians should be made over, in fee, to their conquerors for ever, or through three generations at least. Upon this point, however, the argument was warmly contested. Those who pleaded in behalf of the Indians, urged, that all men were born free, and that they had no right to deprive of their liberty those persons who had never forfeited it by crime. On
A.D. 1511. the other hand, it was insidiously answered, that the Indians must be considered merely as infants, so little sensible of the wretchedness of their state, that, in spite of the pains taken to inform them, they tore off their European clothes, and ran naked to the mountains; in short, that they were incapable of making a good use of their liberty. A multitude of barbarous traits of character, not without some foundation, perhaps, were adduced, and much aggravated, to serve the purpose of the enslavers. Montesino endeavoured to make these errors and exaggerations apparent; and the King, urged by the force of conscience, as well as by the dying

request of his queen, at length acknowledged the equity of a cause so humanely instituted, and so forcibly pleaded. A.D. 1512. He ordained that the Indians should be reputed free; but that the several departments of his Western government should remain on the same footing as heretofore; an ordinance, in point of fact, which recognized the right of those people to their liberty, while it drew tighter than ever the unnatural bonds of slavery.

However, as cattle had now rapidly increased in Hispaniola, it was expressly forbidden that the Indians should be used "as beasts of burden;" a concession in their favour which extended not to the Charaibs. Visitors, or intendants, of the Indians were appointed, who were to be their legal protectors, and without whose consent they should undergo no punishment whatever. An order was also made, giving them one day's holiday in each week, besides church festivals, and allowing other indulgences to the women. But these regulations were totally ineffectual to suppress abuses already countenanced by authority, and established by a cruel policy. Setting aside the individual interests of the priests and crown favourites, absolute freedom could not be granted to the Indians without involving in actual ruin every Spanish settlement in the West Indies. Interest, therefore, prevailed over humanity. The Indians, who had obtained some information of what was passing in their favour, were treated with greater severity than ever, to keep them in subjection; and their irritation under the Spanish yoke was disadvantageous to the cause of religion, dangerous to their oppressors, and destructive of themselves. One anecdote will prove the hatred in which the Spaniards were held by the unhappy natives.

Hatuey, a cacique of Saint Domingo, had emigrated with his subjects and settled in Cuba, to avoid the tyranny of the Europeans; and when they followed him to his retreat, he animated his followers to an obstinate defence, assuring them, however, that even their courage would be useless unless they first invoked the god of their enemies, whom they beheld so powerful, and in whose cause their cruel op-

pressors could confidently undertake any enterprize. "Behold him," said he, producing at the same instant a small casket of gold; "behold that god for whom they undertake so much: it is for him that they came here; let us, then, celebrate a feast to his honour, and purchase his protection." His people commenced singing and dancing around the glittering treasure; but, Hatuey told them that he still felt himself insecure, and that they could not be safe as long as the god of the Spaniards remained in their neighbourhood; "that he must be buried where they could not discover him, and then, perhaps, their oppressors would depart." The casket was therefore cast into the sea, amidst shouts of applause. The tyrants, however, approached; Hatuey fell into their hands, and was condemned to be burnt alive. When tied to the fatal stake, a Franciscan friar attempted his conversion to Christianity, and talked much of paradise and hell. "In this place of happiness whereof you talk," said the cacique, "are there any Spaniards?" "Assuredly," answered the missionary, "but only good ones." "The best of them are good for nothing," replied Hatuey; "and I desire not to go where I may be in danger of meeting with one of that horrid tribe."

It was about the period to which this anecdote refers, that Bartholomew de Las Casas, so celebrated for his philanthropic labours in the cause of the Indians, first issued from the peaceful obscurity in which he had hitherto lived, to commence the arduous exercise of his operative zeal and active talent. Having, when a youth, ventured across the Atlantic, and returned to Spain, where he had been ordained priest, he now again came to Cuba with Velasquez. The sole object of this, his second voyage, was the conversion of the islanders, in whom he discovered such amiable simplicity that he did not scruple to assert, that it would be more easy to make Christians of them than of his own abandoned countrymen. Many, however, were the obstacles which he had to contend with. As the royal ordinances were daily violated with confident audacity by those appointed to execute them, the conduct of the Spanish settlers towards the

wretched Indians in their power may more easily be conceived than described.

Oviedo, the shameless apologist for the barbarities of his countrymen, is compelled to acknowledge, that in the short space of forty-three years the avarice of the Spanish taskmasters had not left more than five hundred of the original natives in the island of Hispaniola. Those of Jamaica, subject to the same abuses, shared the same fate. Las Casas says, that he once beheld four or five of the Indian chiefs roasted alive before a slow fire, and as the agonized victims uttered piercing shrieks, disturbing the intendant in his siesta, he sent word that they should be strangled at once. But the merciless wretch who superintended the tortures—"I know his name," says he, "and know his family in Seville,"—would not suffer it; and, causing them to be gagged, he stirred up the fire with his own hands, and roasted them deliberately till they expired. "I saw it myself," adds the venerable historian. In this instance it cannot be supposed that there is any room for exaggeration, the actors in the bloody tragedy being thus identified. Yet Robertson, who seems to have compiled his history of America with a tender regard for the character of the Spanish name, though refuted by almost every page in his own contradictory narrative, accuses Las Casas of aggravating the facts, observing, "From what I have experienced in the course of my inquiries, I am satisfied that upon a more minute scrutiny into the early operations of the Spaniards in the New World, however *reprehensible* the actions of individuals may appear, the conduct of the nation will be placed in a more favourable light."

A formula had been sent from Spain to Ojeda, composed by the theological doctors, and sanctioned by the canonical laws, which was made use of by the Spaniards on all occasions of invading newly-discovered territories; a proclamation, indeed, little understood by the hapless Indians, but serving as an excuse for the commencement of those monstrous barbarities which soon exterminated them*.

* This rare instrument of papal power, which, in the hands of the bar-

Still, however, Hispaniola long held the chief rank, and was the principal seat of royal authority in the New

barous Spaniards was the engine of death to so many millions, is the more valuable to history because it has been sedulously suppressed: it is thus literally translated:—

"I, Alfonzo d'Ojeda, servant of the most high and mighty King of Castile and Leon, subduer of barbarians, his messenger and captain, proclaim, that God our Lord, one and eternal, created heaven and earth, and one man and one woman, from whom you, and we, and all mankind were produced, and shall hereafter be generated. But since it hath happened that the many generations that have arisen during the space of five thousand years have been dispersed in different parts of the world, and divided into many kingdoms and provinces, because one country could not contain them, God our Lord gave power to one chosen man, who was called Saint Peter, over all these people, to the end that, in whatever part of the earth they lived, all mankind should be obedient to him. God submitted the whole world to his jurisdiction and service, and commanded him to establish his throne in Rome as the place most fit for the government of the earth. He gave him power also to establish his authority in every other country, and to judge and govern all Christians, Moors, Jews, and Gentiles. On him was conferred the name of 'POPE,' which signifies *grand and admirable, father and guardian.* Those who lived in his days obeyed him and esteemed him as their sovereign and the lord of the universe; and the same respect hath been paid to all his successors. Thus is his authority preserved to the present time, and will remain until the consummation of endless ages.

"One of these popes, who have thus governed, hath given, as lord of the earth, all these islands and lands of the ocean to the kings of Castile, and their successors for ever. Therefore, his Catholic Majesty is king of these isles and lands of the ocean, in virtue of this donation; and all people amongst whom the rights have been published have recognised him as such voluntarily, and without resistance. At the same time that they have been taught this submission, they have been instructed to obey the ministers sent by his Majesty to preach to them the gospel, and teach them the mysteries of the faith. They have embraced Christianity without condition or recompense; and his Majesty having received them beneath his protection, hath commanded that they be treated humanely as his other subjects. You, therefore, to whom I address myself, you must do the same.

"In conclusion, I beseech you most earnestly, and seriously recommend you, to consider well what I say, and to act accordingly, to the end that you may know the church for sole mistress of the universe, and the sovereign pontiff, and his Majesty as king, lord, and master of these isles and lands of the ocean. Moreover, that ye consent to receive priests to instruct you in our holy religion. If you do so, you will do well, but no more than you will be compelled to do. Then his Majesty and I, who speak in his name, will leave you free, and exempt you from servitude, and accord you many privileges to your advantage.

"But, on the other hand, if you disobey me, or retard the execution of my orders, I warn you that, with God's aid, I will attack you with all my

World. The ordinances promulgated there extended alike to Jamaica, and to the other Indian colonies under the Spanish yoke. One of these ordinances greatly affecting the Indian population throughout them all, was the appointment of Alberquerque to act in concert with the treasurer, Passamonte, the declared enemy of Diego Columbus, as the chief Indian taskmaster.

A.D. 1514.

He immediately entered upon his hateful office by revoking all ordinances in favour of that ill-fated race; and, to serve his own necessities, he actually sold the remnant of their tribe to the highest bidder, giving some colour to the proceeding by a species of brevet as his title*. Las Casas was the only person who determined to brave, or who conceived him sufficiently out of the reach of all the artifices of power, to oppose those corrupt ministers of royal authority; and, persuaded that the King must be misinformed respecting the events passing in his Trans-Atlantic dominions, he determined to return to Spain, and state the facts. He arrived there in the year 1515; but the death of Ferdinand, on the twenty-third of February in the following year, threw another obstacle in the way of his undertaking. With unabated zeal he applied, however, to Cardinal Ximenes, the regent, whom he found favourably disposed to second his philanthropic

A.D. 1515.

A.D. 1516.

power, and bring you under the yoke of obedience; I will take your wives and children and make them slaves, and sell and dispose of them as the King directs. I will heap every punishment on you, as upon rebellious and disobedient subjects; and I protest that your deaths, and all the evils which may result, will be on your own heads; and, in the mean time, as I now speak I shall record it by my notaries, which shall be signed by them, and placed in my hands to witness against you for ever."—HERRERA, lib. viii. cap. 12.

* The following is a translation of one of those titles which doomed thousands to torture and destruction:—

"I, Rodrique d'Alberquerque, distributor royal of Caciques and Indians, in virtue of patents which I hold, and with the consent of Michael de Passamonte, treasurer-general for these islands, &c., commit —— Cacique, with —— Indians, to you; whom I recommend to you to keep in your employ in the mines, according to the intention of their Majesties and their ordinances, which you are punctually to observe; and they are to remain yours during your life, and that of your heir, male or female, given in such manner by their Majesties, and by me, in their name."

views. A council was called to consider his proposals, composed of the Dean of Louvain, afterwards Pope Adrien II., Zapata, the Bishop of Avila, Carvajal, and Palicios Rubios. The regent having been furnished with a copy of instructions, framed in 1512, in the case of Montesino, composed a new code, in which he attempted to harmonize the indulgence of the Indians with the interests of the Spaniards.

The great difficulty was to choose ministers fit for the execution of this well-intended, but visionary project. The religious orders of Saint Dominick and Saint Francis having never agreed upon the principal point, that of the right of slavery, Ximenes found himself obliged to exclude both those orders, and to substitute that of Saint Jerome.

The general of that order nominated twelve persons, from which number three were chosen, and endowed with absolute power; Father Louis de Fuerva, the prior of Myorade d'Olmedo, as chief of the commission; Father Bernardin de Manzenedo, and the prior of the Convent of Seville. The regent, immediately, and without regard to the representations and clamours of the dissatisfied colonists, framed his final instructions* for the commissaries. But when he

* This singular constitution, which was a political experiment of the famous Cardinal Ximenes, and on which that statesman bestowed much attention, deserves notice.

The first article provides, that, on their arrival in Hispaniola, the commissaries should commence by emancipating the Indians of the Bishop of Burgos, those of the commandant of Conchilos, of Ferdinand de Vega, and of all the ministers and lords of the court, who had obtained departments under the late king. By the second and third articles, the commissaries were enjoined to assemble the Spaniards, and declare to them their power to redress grievances, and to assure them that such investigation was solely for public justice and the general good. The fourth article desires them to summon the principal Caciques, and address them in these terms:—"The Council of Catholic Kings esteeming you a free and Christian people, subject to their crown, have sent us hither to hear and redress your wrongs. Speak, therefore, fearlessly, that they may be redressed. We wish also to hear from you what plan of relief you would propose; for, be assured, their majesties have your interests at heart, and will spare nothing in the proof."

The commissioners were, by their missionaries, to visit all the settlements, to observe the treatment of the Indians, to inform themselves as to the exact condition of the mines, and to see whether it would be possible to congregate the Indians in villages; and, if they found it feasible, to con-

had thus adjusted his commission, Zapata, one of the grand council, irritated at the recall of Alberquerque, refused to

stitute such villages composed of three hundred natives, with a church, an hospital, and a Cacique to govern each. They were, moreover, to take care that the inhabitants of such as were distant from the mines should cultivate the soil, and to apportion to each Cacique four times as much land as to his subjects, in which to grow ginger, cassia, indigo, sugar, and other plants already the staples of a considerable commerce. Each subject was also ordered to give his Cacique fifteen days' labour in every year. Royal visitors were also appointed; each of whom was to have the superintendence of a certain number of these villages, where nothing of importance should be agitated without the consent of the missionary, the Cacique, and the visitor.

The same article ordained, that the visitor should always be a Castilian, nominated by the king, and that his principal care should be to prevent any oppression exercised upon the Indians of his district; that the Caciques, with the consent of the missionary and visitor, should have the power of whipping delinquents; but that for crimes of greater magnitude, appeal should be made to the higher tribunals established by the king.

The commissioners were also to forbid the use of arms amongst the Indians, to prevent their going naked, or to have more than one wife, whom, once chosen, they could not put away; to decree flogging to the crime of adultery; to superintend the appointment of the visitors, as well as of the missionaries; to regulate the tenths, the masses, and the offerings; and to oblige all to have a catechist who should teach the children to read in the Castilian tongue.

The last article of this constitution details the management of the gold mines. The Indians were to be no longer under the power of individuals, but be allowed to work on their own account: yet it was recommended to the commissaries, first, to engage them to labour: secondly, to fix the hours of work: thirdly, that none under twenty or above fifty years of age should be employed: fourthly, that not more than one-third of the inhabitants of a village should be in the mines, nor remain there more than two months at a time: fifthly, that the women should not be employed there without the husband's consent: sixthly, that the mines should reserve their produce until the time of fusion, when it should all be carried together to the furnace under guard of the visitor and Cacique; and that they should make three equal divisions of the whole; the first for the king, the second and third to be equally divided between the Cacique, the labourer, and the village, deducting only the expenses of tools, &c.: seventhly, that there should be twelve Castilian miners appointed to search for veins of ore: eighthly, that the Spaniards, who possessed Charaib slaves, might employ *them* in the mines upon paying a tenth to the king, if they were married; and a seventh, if they were bachelors; and the king engaged to furnish ships to capture and carry away such Charaib slaves, provided such ships molested none other than cannibals.—HERRERA, lib. ii. cap. 4, *et seq.*

Many other articles detail regulations of minor importance, and a secular administrator was added to the commission.

sign it. The refractory priest was at length compelled to do so; but by some artful slip of the pen he contrived to leave room for an assertion to the succeeding sovereign, that he was forced to do so by the cardinal. It was then that the humane Las Casas received the title of "Protector of the Indians;" and, with a considerable salary, was sent to assist these commissaries. He departed in 1516, with fourteen volunteer missionaries from the different convents in Picardy, amongst which, according to Herrera, was a brother of the king of Scotland.

New dissensions, however, arose; and little good was effected by these impotent edicts and empty regulations. Ximenes was now dead; and the Bishop of Burgos, the arch enemy of Las Casas, found himself at the head of the obsequious Council of the Indies *.

The project of supplying the colonies with negro labourers had failed †; Las Casas complained that the dealers in them did not confine themselves to the sanctioned traffic in cannibal Charaibs, but carried off the Indians also. The Jeronimites were recalled; and, although afterwards restored, they never again had access to the court; where insubordination and party-spirit caused the failure of every humane exertion in favour of the expiring race of Indians.

The famous Council which King Charles afterwards convened, to hear the respective arguments of Las Casas, and his opponent, the Bishop of Darien, produced nothing of importance; and the consideration of the matter was at length suspended by the hurry of a splen-

A.D. 1517.

* The Grand Council of the Indies was then held at Seville, and was composed of the following important personages:—The Bishop of Burgos, Ferdinand de la Vega, the Grand Commandant of Castile, Garric de Padilla, Zapata, Peter Martyr d'Angleria, Francisco de los Cabos, and M. de Chievres, with the Dean of Besançon, who, after the death of Sauvage, the Grand Chancellor, exercised all the functions of that high office.

† An order had been issued by the King, to transport four thousand negro slaves to his colonies; but the exclusive privilege of the traffic having been granted to one needy individual (M. de Chievres, one of the Council), who sold it to the Genoese, for the sum of thirteen thousand ducats, the benefit expected from it was frustrated by the extravagant price demanded for them.

did coronation*. It was about this period that the collegiate church of Seville d'Oro was founded in Jamaica, and served by the newly-appointed order of Jeronimites †, habited in blue. Peter Martyr, then one of the Council of the Indies, was appointed non-resident Abbot. It was then called the Abbey of Jamaica; and, with the sees of Saint John of Porto Rico, of Cuba, of Venezuela, and of La Conception de la Vega, it was afterwards made a suffragan to the Archbishop of Hispaniola. The town of Seville d'Oro had been founded in 1510, at the time when the Spaniards first resorted in numbers to Jamaica; and conveniently situated, as it was, for easy access from their insular metropolis in Hispaniola, it was no doubt considered the fittest place for the establishment of a rich and powerful abbey. Ferdinand, the second son of Columbus, was employed, under his brother Diego, to found churches and monasteries in all the colonies; and he took especial care to establish one, as soon as possible, in this, the favourite government of his elder brother.

The little service which these monastic institutions performed, however, in the establishment of Christianity amongst the natives is well known; and, although Las Casas never relaxed his earnest endeavours to effect that purpose, and made several more fruitless voyages to Spain, Charles V. was too much engaged in contentions with the Pope, and in wars against the King of France, to bestow much serious attention on the means of enforcing obedience to those edicts and regulations, which, formed for so distant a part of

* Charles V., the son of Philip I. and Jane, Queen of Castile, was born in the year 1500, took possession of the Estates of Spain in 1517, was crowned Emperor in 1519, resigned to his son Philip in 1555, and died a recluse in the Jeronimite Convent of Saint Just on the 21st of September, 1558.

† The Order of the Jeronimites had been confirmed by Pope Gregory XI. in the year 1373. It was the favourite order of the Emperor Charles V., and comprised three divisions:—"Tertia divi Gregorii in Alga Venetiis à Laurentio Justiniano instituta, cœruleo utuntur."—*Pol. Virg.*, lib. vii. cap. 3.

The Order followed the rule of Saint Augustin, Saint Jerome having founded no peculiar Order of his own; and it was this third division of the Order which prevailed in the monastic institutions of Jamaica.

his dominions, were so easily transgressed with impunity, or thrown aside as visionary.

In short, it was not until the Indians of the islands of Jamaica, Hispaniola, Cuba, and Porto Rico, were very nearly exterminated, that any express laws were enforced in favour of the expiring tribes. About that period, the Emperor, finding that the rapid decrease of the native labourers in the mines materially affected his resources, and again urged by the philanthropic representations of Las Casas, who, assisted by some Dominican friars, awakened his just indignation at the injuries heaped upon these unfortunate people, turned his attention towards these his American possessions. Rodrigues Mina was sent by the Dominicans to Pope Paul III., and obtained from him a Bull, restoring them to nominal freedom; which instrument was at length confirmed by the Emperor *. It came, alas! too late. Jamaica, and the neighbouring islands, were already depopulated; millions had fallen beneath the insatiable cruelties of the Spanish invaders; and barbarity itself had little left to work upon in these unhappy isles. The baptism, or the blood of so many thousand pagans, might indeed have expiated the sins even of the papal world. Two years afterwards, the same Pontiff, at the instance of the Emperor Charles, absolved all the Transatlantic bishops, clergy, and people, from their allegiance to the metropolitan see of Seville, and constituted several archbishoprics in the New World.

A.D. 1542.

A.D. 1544.

This was an important change in the ecclesiastical regulations of America; and had it been effected forty years earlier, it might have been attended with the happiest consequences. As it was, it gave a temporary check to the

* This Edict contained forty clauses, of which the substance is thus preserved by Benzo:—

"Placere, Indos liberos ac sui juris esse: ac proinde nemini fas in postremum Indum ullum aut ad fodinas, aut ad piscandos uniones adigere, eo ideo ut ne ipsi quidem Gubernatores, eorumve legati, et Regii procuratores vassallum ullum Indum aut servum retinerent. Porro omnes Indos, qui extra natalis soli fineis quoquomodo abducti essent, eo remigrare ac reduci et Christ. religionem doceri," &c.—Lib. iii. cap. 10.

exterminating spirit of persecution, and to the enormous abuses which the distant residence of a superintending power was calculated to encourage. The Indians, however, cruelly deceived by the former faithless promises of the Spaniards, would now come to no terms whatever. These well-intended regulations had, therefore, little or no effect; and the total extinction of the native islanders was the immediate consequence. The tardy discovery, and conquest of the more distant continental tribes, had happily delayed the destructive dominion of the Spanish adventurers in Terra Firma; and, accordingly, we find these salutary, though late, measures operating in sufficient time to prevent their entire extirpation; though many millions had already suffered under the atrocious cruelties of their earliest conquerors.

The abuses of Romish superstition continued no where more manifest than in these remote regions of papal authority. In the pretended conversion of a simple race of Indians, whose very baubles were riches to their invaders; surrounded, at the same time, by the envied source of the new-found wealth of Europe, the dissembling priesthood found a wide field for the practice of every extortion,—the use of every artifice, which tarnishes the gilded pomp of Saint Peter's chair. Gage, doubtless the first, and probably the only, English historian who ever peeped behind the knavish screen of American papistry, and whom we have no reason to suspect either of exaggeration or of prejudice, records many curious, but disgraceful anecdotes which fell beneath his observation. The emoluments of the profession he thus notices:—"A friar that lived at
A.D. 1625. Patapa boasted unto me once, that upon their All-souls day, his offerings had been about a hundred rials, two hundred chickens and fowls, six turkeys, eight bushels of maize, three hundred eggs, four sontles of cocoa (every sontle being four hundred grains), twenty clusters of plantains, above one hundred wax-candles, besides some loaves of bread, and other trifles of fruits. All which being summed up, according to the price of the things there, and with consideration of the coyn of money there, (half a riall, or three

pence, being the least coyn,) amounts to above eight pounds sterling,—a fair and goodly stipend for a masse!—brave wages for half-an-hour's work; a politic ground for that error of purgatory, if the dead bring to the living priest such wealth in one day."

"The Christmas offerings were to me," says Gage, "when I lived there, at least forty crowns: Thursday and Friday offerings, before Easter-day, were about one hundred crowns; All-souls day offerings, commonly worth eighty crowns; and Candlemas-day offerings, commonly forty more: besides what was offered upon the feast of each town, by all the country, which came in; which, in Mexico, one year, was worth unto me, in candles and money, four score crowns; and in Pinola, fifty more. The communicants (every one giving a riall) might make up, in both towns, at least a thousand rialls; and the confessions in Lent at least a thousand more; besides other offerings of eggs, honey, cocoa, fowls, and fruits. Every christening brought two rialls; every marriage two crowns; every one's death two crowns more at least; and some, in my time, died, who would leave ten or twelve crowns for five or six masses to be sung for their souls. Thus are those fools taught, that by the priests singing, their souls are delivered from weeping, and from the fire and torments of purgatory; and thus, by singing all the year, doe those fryars charme from the poor Indians, and their sodalities and saints, an infinite treasure, wherewith they enrich themselves and their cloisters,—as may be gathered from what I have noted by my owne experience in those two townes of Mexico and Pinota; which yielded unto mee, with the offerings cast into the chests which stood in the churches for the soules of purgatory, and with what the Indians offered when they came to speake unto me, (for they never visit the priest with empty hands,) and with what other masse stipends did casually come in, the summe of at least two thousand crowns of Spanish money, which might yeerly amount to five hundred English pounds.

"If you demand of these ignorant but zealous offerers, the Indians, an account of any point of faith, they will give

you little or none. The mystery of the Trinity, and of the incarnation of Christ, and our redemption by him, is too hard for them; they will only answer what they have been taught in a Catechism of Questions and Answers; but if you ask them if they believe such a point of Christianity, they will never answer affirmatively, but only thus—'Perhaps it may be so.' Once, an old woman, who was held to be very religious, came to me about receiving the Sacrament, and whilst I was instructing her, I asked her if she believed that Christ's body was in the sacrament, she answered, 'Peradventure it may be so.' A little while after, to try her, and get her out of this strange and common answer, I asked her what and who was in the sacrament which she received from the priest's hand at the altar. She answered nothing for a while; and at last I pressed her for an affirmative answer; and then she began to look about to the saints in the church (which was dedicated to a saint which they called Saint Dominick), and, as it seemed, being troubled, and doubtful what to say, at last she cast her eyes upon the high altar; but I, seeing she delayed the time, asked her again who was in the sacrament? to which she replied, 'Saint Dominick.' At this I smiled, and would yet farther try her simplicity with a simple question: I told her she saw Saint Dominick was painted with a dog by him, holding a torch in his mouth, and the globe of the world at his feet, and asked her whether all this were with Saint Dominick in the sacrament? To which she replied, 'Perhaps it may be so.'"

Such, then, was the state of the church in the New World, after Christianity had been established there one hundred and thirty years;—a state which admits, no doubt, of the fault being rather in the instruments than in the materials. Religion was at length brought into such disrepute by these means, that the Inquisition was continually occupied in compelling the presence of the inhabitants at the divine service; during which the sentinels of Saint Hermandad were obliged to guard the church doors. Sepulveda actually urged the passage from Deuteronomy, the *compelle intrare*, to support the sanguinary measures of the conquering Spaniards.

That the policy of the church of Rome long maintained the lucrative patronage of the American establishment, may be inferred from the circumstance of there having been an abbey, with two churches, and as many chapels, in the town of Saint Jago de la Vega, appropriated to a population of little more than three thousand souls, dispersed throughout the whole island, when the English forces landed. A.D. 1655.

The inducements held out to European priests to cross the Atlantic were then, however, become so trifling, that the dignity of the priesthood was conferred in some instances even upon the negroes: yet, to the credit of the poor fugitives who were expelled Jamaica, we find them in nothing so scrupulous as in their religious worship; and that, in their last unfortunate attempt to regain their lost country, one of their principal works at Rio Nuevo was a chapel, at the altar of which two of their priests were killed by the British soldiers.

There can be no doubt that the imposing forms and ceremonies of the Roman church were well calculated to make a deep impression on the minds of the negro slaves, during the Spanish occupation of Jamaica; and the popular methods which the priesthood adopted, by mingling the ceremonies of religion with the labours of the field, contributed not a little to enlarge their superstitious dominion over weak, or even obstinate minds. The popish worship is, in fact, so like the pagan, that the celebrated Ode of Huetius would serve as well for Diana as for Mary; and the splendid religion of Rome might more speedily make converts amongst our pagan slaves, than the primitive and simple worship of the Protestants. Images, music, lights, odours, and ornaments, affect the senses of all men; and all these were familiar to the negroes of Africa, the Indians of America, and in the worship of the oldest nations of the East. Yet the resemblance was probably without imitation on the part of the modern Roman worshippers; for images were opposed while eastern paganism subsisted, and revived as soon as it was extinct; while the monks, and the relics of martyrs,

those prevailing superstitions of the fourth century, were detested by the pagans.

The planting of the cocoa-tree was always accompanied in this island by a religious festival, and great processions of friars, and other religious authorities, who consecrated *the walk* for that purpose. The clergy were also admitted to a share in the government; a participation which naturally raised their credit and increased their influence. The Abbot of St. Jago was the first named in the commission, to treat with the English for the capitulation of that town.

Cromwell furnished the armament destined for Jamaica with seven irregular preachers, adapted to the fanatical spirit of the times; but they soon fell victims to the prevalence of a tropical fever*. To them succeeded several Quakers, who had been driven out of Barbadoes, as a sect hostile to the interests of the usurper; and they commenced their labours in Jamaica by disseminating their peculiar doctrines amongst the soldiers. Their sect had long been under persecution in England; for they were suspected of having embraced the tenets of the Levellers, while many of their principal men were accused of preaching, or even practising, with a view to the subversion of the existing government. D'Oyley, however, regarding them as an harmless people, or perhaps favouring their supposed plans, welcomed them here; but, as he was aware of their suspected character at home, he thought it expedient to apply to Cromwell for instructions as to their treatment here. Whether they were successful or not in making proselytes does not appear; but as they professed to handle no other than spiritual weapons,

* Daniel How, one of the officers in the expedition to Jamaica, under Penn and Venables, describes the situation of the army in a letter to his brother in London, dated Jamaica, June 4th, 1655: the following is an extract:—"In our poor army we have but few that either fear God or reverence man. But, blessed be God, those that are in chief place are Godly men, and we have teachers amongst us; so that I hope God will carry on his work among us; and I hope that the Lord Protector will be careful to send better men, I mean better soldiers, and as many Godly men as may be; for certainly we had a great many bad commanders, as well as bad soldiers."

It was in Sept. 1670, that the notorious trial of William Penn, the Quaker, took place at the Old Bailey. See *State Trials.*

it is probable that they soon found a military government ill-suited to their habits or principles; for the greater part of them removed to Pennsylvania. A few years afterwards, Charles II. wishing to recal them, issued an order, directing the Governor of Jamaica to encourage the sect; and he sent out sixty, who established themselves during a considerable period, and the walls of whose burying-ground were, till lately, visible in Kingston.

A.D. 1664.

As soon, however, as the Restoration, several orthodox divines were sent here; and the first instructions from the elevated monarch, directed D'Oyley "to discountenance vice and debauchery, and encourage ministers, that Christianity and the Protestant religion, according to the church of England, might have due reverence and exercise." In the succeeding administration of Lord Windsor, "the encouragement of an orthodox ministry" was expressly desired. The Jews, who had hitherto been excluded, then gained a footing, under the characteristic plea of looking for an old Spanish mine; and, under certain disabilities, they have ever since maintained themselves in considerable repute.

There were now fifteen parishes formed, and four ministers of the church of England serving in the island; while the temptation, which the liberality of the colonists held out for their encouragement, caused an edict, "that no minister be received in Jamaica without license from the Bishop of London;" and also, "that, in the direction of all church affairs, the ministers be admitted into the vestries."

A.D. 1676.

A.D. 1678.

Charles I., although secretly embracing the Roman faith, cannot be accused of exercising severity against its opponents here. He seems to have preferred the peaceable settlement of an infant colony, to the establishment of that persuasion which he professed; and he discerned the expediency of religious toleration, even in this distant portion of his dominions. In all his instructions, however, he directed, that "for the encouragement of persons of different judgments and opinions in matters of religion, to transport them with their effects to Jamaica; and that they may not be obstructed and hindered,

under pretence of scruples of conscience, the oaths of supremacy and allegiance should be dispensed with in those that should bear any part in the government (the members and officers of the Privy Council only excepted), and that some other way of securing their allegiance should be devised." But the Governors themselves were strictly enjoined, in their own houses and families, to the profession of the English church.

It was enacted, in the assembly which immediately followed the settlement of the civil constitution, A.D. 1681. that the several parish magistrates should assess taxes for the sufficient maintenance of ministers, and the erection of churches; that registers should be kept; and a fine be imposed upon all masters of families who should neglect to give notice to the minister of the times of the births, christenings, marriages, and burials, which might happen in their houses: while such registers were declared authentic records. A chaplain * was also appointed to the House of Assembly, whose duty it was to preach at the opening of each session, and sometimes during its sitting; the church being the appointed place of its meeting. Even as late as the year 1711, the House held its adjournments there. Its chaplain seems, however, to have been satisfied with the unsubstantial honour of his appointment, seasoned occasionally with a donation of thirty pounds, for his sermon. The following schedule of stipends was arranged for the several ministers:—

Port Royal, 240*l.*; Saint Catherine, 140*l.*; Saint Thomas, 100*l.*; Saint Andrew, 100*l.*; Saint John, 100*l.*; while, to

* There is the following entry in the Journals of Assembly for the year 1693, which proves, that if the clergy had not as good pay in those times as at present, they had at least as much modesty:—

"John Walters, Esq., reported, that himself, and other Members of the House, who were ordered to give Dr. George Foster the thanks of the House for his good Sermon, and desire a copy of it, and that he would read prayers to the Assembly every morning, at seven of the clock, had accordingly done the same: to which he answered, that he was ready to attend the House to read prayers, but desired to be excused from delivering a copy of the Sermon, his modesty not permitting it."

all other parishes which had, or might thereafter have, a minister, the sum of eighty pounds was appropriated. It was also declared, that none should be capable of enjoying the said benefices, except they recorded in the Secretary's office their testimonials of qualification under deacon's or priest's orders. The same Act established a fine on unqualified ministers; provided against marriages, except under the due publication of banns, or the license of the Governor; and barred all ecclesiastical law, or jurisdiction, to enforce penal mulcts or punishments. The last provision was rendered necessary by the prevailing arrogance of a popish faction, which sought to gain ascendancy.

It was beneath such laws and regulations as these, that the church establishment of Jamaica was thus described by Mr. Hanson :—"The people are generally of the church of England, and I am confident, in no part of the King's dominions hath his Majesty more loyal subjects than in Jamaica. We have very few Papists, or sectaries; for neither Jesuits, nor non-conformist parsons, do or can live among us; some few have attempted, but never could gain proselytes enough to afford them sustenance, though all, except Papists, may freely exercise what religion they please, without disturbance. But for all orthodox divines there is great encouragement; that it is to be admired so many can content themselves with such mean, or no, benefices in England, when they may so comfortably subsist in Jamaica; for that they are certainly provided for. Besides which allowances, in most parishes the contingencies, by voluntary presents for christenings, marriages, buryings, and otherwise, with houses, taking boarders, schooling, &c., make considerable additions." This record, of Papists having been excluded from the free exercise of religious rites, can only imply, that in those turbulent times of political zeal they were watched with a jealous eye by their Protestant fellow-colonists; for all denominations of Christians were equally tolerated by the imperative instructions of the King.

A.D. 1682.

The next local enactment affecting the state of the church,

A.D. 1683. was for the purpose of relieving the beneficed ministers from the state of absolute dependence on the wills and tempers of their parishioners; and, in some degree, to assimilate their condition to that of the clergy in England. They were, therefore, declared vestrymen *ex officio*; previously, they could only vote in vestry on ecclesiastical questions; but no vestry can now make an order unless the rector has had due notice to attend its meeting.

This was another step in the advancement of the clergy to that independence which the constitution of the church of England recognises in her respectability, and enforces by her edicts; and James II. showed no disposition A.D. 1685. either to alter the ecclesiastical laws, or to interfere with the religious arrangements of the colony. In his instructions to Sir Philip Howard, he confirmed them all *.

* The following extract from the Royal Instructions to the Governor, in the year 1685, is a compendium of the constitution then intended for the church of Jamaica:—

"And our will and pleasure is, that no minister be preferred to any ecclesiastical benefice without a certificate from the Bishop of London, of his conforming to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England; and also our pleasure is, that you give order forthwith, if the same be not already done, that every minister within your government be one of the vestry in his respective parish; and that no vestry be held without him, except in case of sickness, or that, after notice of a vestry summoned, he absent himself. And you are to inquire, whether there be any ministers within your government that preach and administer the sacrament without being in due orders; whereof you are to give an account to the Bishop of London; and you are to endeavour, with the assistance of the Council, that good and sufficient stipends and allowances be made and ascertained unto the ministers of every parish within your government: and to the end the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the said Bishop of London may take place in that our island, as far as may be convenient, we do think fit that you give all countenance and encouragement to the exercise of the same, excepting only electing to benefices, granting licenses for marriages, and probate of wills, which we have reserved unto you, our Governor, and the Commander-in-Chief for the time being; and that no person be permitted to come from England, and to keep school within our said island, without the license of the said Bishop; and that no other person being now in Jamaica, or shall come from other parts, be admitted to keep school without your license first had. You are to take especial care that a table of marriages, established by the canons of the church of England, be hung up in every church, and duly observed; and you are to endeavour to get a law passed in the Assembly, for the strict observance of the said table. You are to carry over a sufficient number of books of homi-

So far he was consistent with his avowal to the Council, on the day that he was proclaimed in London, when he professed his resolution to follow his brother's example, by supporting both Church and State. But James possessed neither ability to dissemble, nor power to support his real principles; to sanction which he soon after published two papers, taken out of the late King's strong box, to prove that he had died a Papist. He then went himself publicly to mass in St. James's Chapel. Popery became immediately the favoured religion of Jamaica; where it was supported by that characteristic spirit of persecution which was immediately declared against all non-conformists. The Duke of Albemarle arrived with the powers of Governor, and accompanied by Father Churchill, a Romish priest, who was to be the "Chief Pastor of his Majesty's Catholic subjects in Jamaica." His errand was to convert by fair means, or to compel by foul, the whole island to the religion of Rome.

Each branch of the legislature instantly caught the alarm; and, suspecting the real object of his Grace's government, greeted him with a suitable address. The House was, however, soon dissolved; the judges, and other principal officers, were displaced; the freedom of the election was violated; and the iron yoke of Papal authority was nearly rivetted on the oppressed inhabitants of Jamaica. The Catholics, presumptuous in their ascendancy, offered an address of congratulation to the Governor, in the prospect of that success which they already anticipated from the embassy of Churchill, who was sent home to obtain the King's consent to those partial laws which power had extorted. Churchill, however, failed in his mission; and Jamaica at length triumphed in the cause of religion and of right. But the distractions which these occurrences had caused, ceased only with the appointment of the Earl of Inchiquin, as successor to the unfortunate nobleman, whose untimely fate the colony had no reason to deplore. The

lies, and books of the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, to be disposed of in every church, and you are to take care that they be duly kept and used therein."

other extreme of power was then enforced, and
A.D. 1689. "liberty of conscience was granted to all persons except Papists." Such a timely deliverance from the thraldom of the Holy See, was hailed with enthusiastic rejoicings throughout the island. The slaves themselves seemed to participate in the general exultation, and certainly benefited, as they always will, by the prosperity of their owners. So great had been the distress during this short reign of oppression, that the colony was almost deserted; and the first act of the subsequent Assembly was to frame an address to William and Mary, assuring them of their loyalty, and that "the great and dreadful calamities the island had laboured under, would have obliged them to seek a new habitation, had they been subject to any but their Majesties."

The spirit of persecution was soon expelled by the happy change of affairs at home; the colonists again enjoyed the salutary exercise of civil and religious liberty; while their representatives in assembly petitioned their Majesties to repeal or suspend all the laws passed during the late reign of terror and oppression. Recantations became frequent, industry revived, and the stubborn acts of bigotry subsided
in harmony and peace. The original laws or-
A.D. 1690. ganizing the church establishment being now revived, no additional enactments were called for, until "it had pleased Almighty God, the Great Creator and Judge of heaven and earth, on the 7th of June, 1692, justly to punish the inhabitants of this island for the manifold sins committed against his Divine Majesty, by a most terrible and dreadful earthquake, which not only laid waste our estates and places of habitation in general, but also destroyed many hundreds of people; which tremendous judgment was succeeded by a raging sickness and mortality that few or no families escaped." That so signal a visitation might be held in lasting remembrance, and recognized as the judgment of an offended Deity, a perpetual annual fast was ordained, by a special law, and all ministers were enjoined to preach an appropriate sermon.

The increase of population, and the consequent demand

for additional clergy, called for further encouragement to bring them across the Atlantic; and the stipends of the rectors were therefore increased by an act, "ordering, that (in consideration of such increase) all persons who had obliged themselves to the payment of any sums of money to the ministers of any parish for officiating, otherwise than agreeable to this act, should be acquitted from such obligation:" and, moreover, that "Ministers should be paid only for the time they officiated, sickness excepted;" for it seems that the salary affixed to each benefice had hitherto been inadequate to the maintenance of the minister, who depended chiefly on the bounty of his parishioners, or his opportunities of extorting money for the performance of necessary duties.

A.D. 1693.

The late attempts to establish the Roman faith had also made the legislature naturally anxious to raise the respectability and secure the independence of its own church; and the apprehension of entertaining any persons disaffected to the established religion caused an edict compelling all persons holding official situations to "receive, within one month of their being so admitted, the holy communion, according to the usage of the church of England."

A.D. 1715.

In the following year, Wood published his "Preface to the Laws of Jamaica," and thus noticed its ecclesiastical establishment. "The king, in Jamaica as in England, is head of the church; the governor, as his substitute and chancellor*, has the gift of all benefices;

A.D. 1716.

* The crown livings of Jamaica are in the gift of the governor, in virtue of his high station as such, not as being the chancellor; and probably Wood fell into this error from the consideration of the custom in England, where the lord chancellor has such patronage. Before the reformation, the canon law being in common use, and the laity in general unlettered, or engaged in the wars, the King was compelled to employ the clergy in the great offices of state, in embassies, and in the courts of justice and chancery. To reward such services, the chancellor, or lord keeper, was furnished with the advowson of many benefices, to which he was allowed to present his approved clerical assistants, the masters and clerks in chancery. It appears, indeed, that after the Norman conquest, the foreign clergy poured in shoals into England, and obtained the almost exclusive direction of the courts of law;

none of which are worth less than 100*l.*, and some are worth 400*l.* per annum. The clergy have institution and induction, by an instrument under the great seal of the island; and have clerks, keep registers of marriages, christenings, funerals, &c. In the several parishes there are churches and vestries, of which the minister is to be one."

A few Quakers still remaining in the island, a law was framed enabling them to vote at elections, upon proving their qualification, by affirmation instead of oath; and the state of the church was, at the same time, rendered creditable to the colony and to its ministers. The parish of Clarendon stood foremost in its support, by asking for permission to grant an additional income to its rector; and although the prayer of the petition was for some reason rejected, the clergy were universally held in high and deserved estimation. An act had been passed perpetuating the remembrance of the two fatal earthquakes which happened on the same day of the month (28th of August) in the years 1712 and 1722; and the duties of public worship were never more strictly attended to than during the prosperity of the colony, which rendered the church preferment extremely valuable. The parish of Westmoreland was enabled, by a special law, to maintain an additional minister; by the express desire of the Bishop of London, regulations had been made

A.D. 1732.

A.D. 1733.

A.D. 1738.

the consequence was, that they immediately set about abolishing the common law of the country, that they might erect upon its ruins their favourite system of civil and canon law, which was just then revived in the Italian States.' This artful design was opposed by the nobility and laity, who supported the municipal law of England; and, at length, despairing of success, these disappointed clergy affected to despise that which they were unable to destroy, and gradually withdrew from the secular tribunals. The court of chancery, however, they still held; and, to the disgrace of the academical character of England, they retained the direction of the two universities, where they proscribed the science they abhorred, and reduced the students of the common law to the necessity of erecting schools in London, and within the neighbourhood of the courts of justice. Nor was this disgrace wiped out until the year 1758, when Mr. Blackstone read his rational system of English jurisprudence in the crowded schools of the University of Oxford; an elaborate work, which gained him the Vinerian professorship, and the applause of all Europe.

for the suppression of vice, and the exhibition in every church of the usual table of marriages; and while tolerance was granted to all sects, the church of England maintained the superiority of her ancient institutions. The chaplains appointed to the troops were placed on the island pay, and a resolution of the Assembly allowed 52*l.* a year to each.

The rectory of Saint Andrew had been endowed with six hundred acres of land by the beneficence of various patrons; and an act passed enabling the incumbent of that living to grant leases of such lands for every number of years not exceeding twenty-one. Although various other livings were enriched by the benefactions of the religious, yet the prevailing liberality of these prosperous times produced an act, declaring that "the provision made for the maintenance of the clergy was still too scanty, and part thereof being precarious, depending on the pleasure of the vestry, they were thrown into an improper state of dependance." The livings were therefore augmented in the following ratio:—

A.D. 1745.

A.D. 1748.

Saint Catherine	£300	Saint David	£100
Saint Thomas in the Vale	200	Saint George	100
Saint Dorothy	200	Saint Mary	200
Kingston	250	Saint Ann	200
Vere	200	Saint James	200
Clarendon	250	Saint Elizabeth	200
Port Royal	200	Westmoreland	250
Saint Andrew	200	Hanover	200
Saint John	200	Portland	100
Saint Thomas in the East	250		

Vestries were restrained from granting any additional salary, but ordered to provide suitable rectories; while the Bishop of London, who had never yet been admitted to any spiritual jurisdiction within the island, was vested with all power, not interfering with the governor, as ordinary. This act did not recognise the constitutional right of the clergy to a freehold in their benefices, but it expressly declared them freeholders, and admitted them to elections as such without the form of an oath.

So extraordinary an idea of luxury prevailed amongst the

inhabitants in these times of colonial prosperity, that it was found necessary to frame a law to prevent the use of *silk* in burials, and to establish that of linen. Provision was also made for the maintenance of a minister amongst the Mosquito Indians; and some opposition having appeared to the order commanding a rector to publish in his church the customary notification of an intended private bill, such publication was declared to be thenceforth the duty of the clergy.

A.D. 1750.

A.D. 1751.

A writer (let us hope a prejudiced one) who visited Jamaica about this period, observes, " Les églises de Spanish Town sont en forme de croix, avec un petit dôme au milieu, mais les voyageurs ajoutent que le clergé du pays est peu occupé de sa profession, et que rarement les portes des églises sont ouvertes. Quelle honte, s'écrie l'auteur, quand on considère combien de mille livres sterling les habitans paient pour les églises, et pour les prêtres."

A party of Moravians, taking advantage perhaps of this prevailing supineness in the established clergy, had now settled themselves on an estate in the parish of Saint Elizabeth, and pleaded exemption from military duty. The inhabitants, conceiving it a mere pretext to evade the Deficiency law during the frequent rebellions, petitioned the house of Assembly to remove them, but the legislature did not interfere; and this harmless and really respectable sect has ever since maintained itself on the same spot, if not with actual benefit to the surrounding population, at least without that suspicion which has attached to all other sectaries in Jamaica.

A.D. 1763.

The irregular conduct of some of the clergy called, however, for restraint; and an act passed to prevent incumbents from officiating as curates in other parishes; while a fine of 50*l.* was imposed on such as should receive a stipend without actually officiating and residing, unless in cases of sickness, or absence for a term not exceeding one month at a time, or two months in the year. Exception was made for the domestic chaplains of the governor, and the chaplains of the legislature. The rectors

A.D. 1770.

were, at the same time, empowered to demand the incomes of their respective cures, where their curates had daily resided; but were restrained from quitting the island without the governor's permission.

A.D. 1773. It was soon afterwards enacted, that in parishes where churches, rectories, and cemeteries might be wanting, the respective vestries should raise 5000*l.* to supply them; and the bequest of church lands having been considerable, though neglected, the rectors were authorized to ascertain the rights and boundaries of such, at the expense of their parishioners. When

A.D. 1774. the parish of Saint James was divided, to the rector of that portion which was to be thenceforth called Trelawney, the sum of 200*l.* per annum was allowed; and it having been hitherto usual to hold elections in the parish churches, all returns from them were in future

A.D. 1787. declared void.

In the parish of Saint George, six hundred acres of land had been patented as a glebe; and this being now vested in trustees, the money arising from the sale of half was appropriated to the purchase of slaves, the other half

A.D. 1788. remaining for the use of the rector and his successors. In a similar way the living of Saint Elizabeth became possessed of a valuable gang of slaves, and an extensive glebe. Upwards of thirteen hundred acres which had been appropriated, or had fallen by patent of escheat to the use of the parish, having long lain waste, the rector was joined by his parishioners in an application to the Assembly for the purpose of disposing of eleven hundred acres wherewith to purchase slaves, and of retaining the remainder as a provision for himself and successors for ever.

The heat of the climate rendering the custom of burying the dead within the churches highly prejudicial, a law was

A.D. 1789. passed, imposing a penalty of 500*l.* upon the rector who should permit such sepulture; at the same time giving an adequate compensation for the fees which the church was thus deprived of; apportioning such compensation as follows:—

Saint Catherine	£70	Saint James	£50
Kingston	110	Hanover	50
Port Royal	30	Saint Elizabeth	50
Saint Andrew	50	Clarendon	30
Saint Thomas in the East	50	Saint Dorothy	20
Portland	20	Vere	30
Saint Ann	50	Saint Thomas in the Vale	30

This enactment is one of those anomalies with which the English church in Jamaica abounds; for it recognizes that principle which a former law denied, namely, that the beneficed clergy have a freehold in their office. It sanctions the right of rectors to the usual fine upon opening the ground, which right is founded on such being their peculiar freehold, and as such entitling them to vote at elections *.

Seven years subsequent to this period, a law was passed of great importance to the ecclesiastical respectability of the colony, and of which the following are the principal points. The penalties attached to the non-performance of the several duties imposed by former acts upon magistrates and vestrymen, with respect to the church, were extended to 100*l.*; and when parishes failed in providing places of worship, the board of works should cause them to be built, and assess the expenses on the parishes—not exceeding the sum of 3000*l.*; that rectors should be forthwith provided with suitable houses at an expense not exceeding 1200*l.*; and that they should appropriate a certain portion of every Sunday to the instruc-

* This question has repeatedly been tried, and always decided in favour of the rector. A memorable instance lately occurred in a long-pending suit between the rector of Saint Alban, in London, and his parishioners, relative to the right of the former to permit, and charge for, the erection of monuments, and the vestment of the freehold of the church in him; when all the judges of the court of King's Bench decided it in favour of the rector.—(1818.)

In deciding another case, (Cramp *v.* Bayley, 1819,) Mr. Justice Bayley laid it down as a rule of law, that "no person had a right to hang up what are called ornaments in the church, without leave of the rector; because the freehold of the church was in him, and he might make his own terms for that leave. Even where private individuals hung black cloth in the parish church, with the concurrence of the rector, there was a kind of understanding that the cloth became the property of the rector."

Though the same law holds good in Jamaica, yet it is little understood to be the case.

tion of slaves; that the stipends of all the rectors should be equalized, and paid quarterly by the receiver-general of the island, at the rate of 420*l.* per annum each, exclusive of the several sums paid in lieu of church burials, but subject to a deduction of ten per cent. for the establishment of a fund to provide for the respectable maintenance of the widows and orphans of deceased rectors; that no salary be paid by the parish vestries; and that the liberty given to the rector of Saint Andrew's to lease his glebe should be extended alike to all the beneficed clergy.

A.D. 1799. The authority which had been delegated to the Bishop of London, in the year 1745, having never been enforced, (for, in point of fact, that power was rendered nugatory by the local act disallowing any ecclesiastical courts,) and his Majesty having now resumed the same, at the instance of the Assembly, who requested that it might be exercised by persons resident upon the island, it was consequently enacted, that "the power of the Bishop of London to exercise ordinary jurisdiction in this island should be annulled; while the eleventh clause of 33 Cha. II. cap. 18, declaring that no ecclesiastical law should have power to enforce penal mulcts, was repealed.

A.D. 1801. An address had been presented by the legislature to the King in Council, and the legal opinion of Sir William Scott was taken upon the proposed measure of delegating this ecclesiastical authority; but while this opinion was under the royal consideration, the prevailing disorders in the church system here called forth an Act enforcing the residence of the clergy upon their livings. Besides the due performance of the various duties imposed by former laws, it was now ordained that the Receiver-General should not pay stipends without a certificate of residence and conformity from the churchwardens, except in cases of leave of absence granted by the Governor, which leave could not be available for a longer period than eighteen months; and always excepting the chaplains to the Governor and Legislature. It was moreover provided, that churchwardens, who might refuse the said certificate upon

insufficient grounds, should be fined 500*l.*; that the time allowed to build the required churches should be further extended; churchyards inclosed; out-offices and glebe-lands added to the rectories wanting them; and that the President of the Council, the Speaker of the Assembly, the Chief-Justice, the Attorney-General, the Members for Saint Catherine and Kingston, with the Rectors of Port Royal, Saint Catherine, Kingston, Saint Andrew, and Saint Elizabeth, or any five of them, two of whom should be laymen, should be Trustees for the management of the Widows' Fund. A salary of 100*l.* was awarded to the Registrar of the contemplated Ecclesiastical Court, and 40*l.* to the Apparitor.

The luminous opinion of the Advocate-General * had in

* The following letter, addressed by Sir William Scott to the Duke of Portland, was the foundation of the late Court of Commissaries; a Court, constituted as it was, not less remarkable for its nullity than its arrogance; for its rights were never defined, nor its jurisdiction known. Yet the opinion of the Advocate-General is that of an orthodox churchman and a sound lawyer, written with great compass of thought, and precision of argument.

"My Lord Duke,—I am honoured with your Grace's letter, dated the 16th May, transmitting to me an extract from an Address of the Assembly of Jamaica to his Majesty, praying that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, granted by an act of the island to the Bishop of London, may be placed in the hands of the person exercising his Majesty's government in Jamaica for the time being, and desiring me to take the same into my consideration, and report to your Grace, for his Majesty's information, my opinion in regard to the mode of delegating the authority given to the Bishop by the said Act, and in regard to the person, or persons, to whom the same may, with most propriety, be delegated; with a view of its being executed on the spot, in a manner the most beneficial to the island. In obedience to your Grace's directions, I have taken the same into my consideration, and humbly report, that the proposed delegation of the power of ecclesiastical regimen over the body of the clergy, in the island of Jamaica, into the hands of the Governor, appears to be liable to objections of no inconsiderable weight; for, although it is certainly true that many other powers, which are in England associated with the episcopal authority, such as the probate of wills, and the grant of administrations, and the like, are in his Majesty's colonies exercised by the respective Governors, under the title of Ordinaries: yet it is to be observed, that these are powers in no degree ecclesiastical in their own nature, but became accidentally connected with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in this, and in other countries in Europe, in consequence of opinions and dispositions prevailing in remote times, and have only continued in that state of connexion, from a prudent regard to ancient institutions not found to be incon-

the interim, undergone the fullest consideration of the Assembly; and it was at length resolved to make it the basis of the future ecclesiastical system of Jamaica. The King having accepted, now delegated the regimen of the church,

sistent in their modern practice with the just convenience of the public; but the immediate government of the clergy in the modes of ecclesiastical discipline is a power purely ecclesiastical, and has in all ages, and in almost all professions of Christianity, been lodged in the clergy themselves, either exclusively, as in the episcopal and many other of the reformed churches, or in association with some of the laity, as in churches of a more democratic constitution; and to lodge such a power in the single person of a lay governor, would be a novelty in the practice of the Christian church upon this matter; and, as I humbly submit, a novelty not likely to be productive of salutary effects, when it is considered that the person on whom this authority is proposed to be conferred, will rarely be a person who, whatever other qualifications he may possess, can be furnished, from the studies and habits of his life, with any intimate knowledge of the nature and exercise of the pastoral office. It is likewise to be remarked, that this power of administering ecclesiastical discipline is proposed to be governed, not by the ancient ecclesiastical law, that is, by the ancient canons adopted by the church of England, or by its own modern canons, sanctioned by the royal authority, but 'by such regulations as shall hereafter be provided by the legislature of Jamaica:' thereby exposing the body of the clergy to the hazard of considerable alterations in the nature of their functions, and subjecting them to a possible system of rules unknown to the general law, by which their duties and rights are ascertained in that parent church of which they are ministers, wherever it is established in any part of his Majesty's dominions.

"Under these considerations I would humbly submit, that, as the Bishops of London have uniformly declined to exercise the jurisdiction which has been offered to them by the Act of the Legislature, the mode of exercising it, most analogous to the general practice of the church, and the least exposed to the perils attendant on innovation, would be, if his Majesty would be graciously pleased, in his character of Supreme Head of the church, to nominate three or more respectable clergymen of the island to be his Commissaries, for the purpose of exercising, jointly and synodically, discipline over the clergy; only such Commissaries to have the power of censuring, suspending, or removing any offending clergyman; but under the reserve, that no sentence of deprivation (by which freehold rights would be affected) should be carried into execution without the consent of the Governor; subject, nevertheless, to an appeal, as in other plantation cases, to his Majesty in Council, if that consent should be deemed to be unduly refused.

"If his Majesty should be pleased to elect this mode of answering the purposes of the Assembly, as explained in their Address, it will be necessary, I presume, for the Legislature of the island to repeal that Act by which they transferred this part of the royal supremacy to the Bishops of

under the sign manual, to the Rectors of Saint Andrew, Kingston, Saint Elizabeth, Saint James, and Saint Catherine; while the Legislature of the island confirmed the same, by a law recognising the authority of the Commissaries to give institution to benefices, grant licenses to curates, and exercise all the power and coercion which might be requisite, or according to the institutions and canons ecclesiastical of the church of England.

A.D. 1804. It being soon after found that the provisions of the previous Act (41 Geo. III. cap. 27) were still ineffectual, and that several parishes had long remained without any resident ministers, it was made a law that rectors, obtaining leave of absence, should appoint curates; and that, in cases where rectors should remain absent for six months without appointing a curate, the Governor might appoint one, giving him all the emoluments of the living, the glebe only excepted; but that, should the rector continue absent for a longer period than eighteen months, the benefice should be declared void; no lapse of stipend, however, to affect the Widows' Fund.

A long period now elapsed, during which no alterations were made in the ecclesiastical laws. The abolition of the slave-trade, and the tremendous events of a protracted war, drew the means as well as the attention of the colony into another channel. But when, at length, the blessings of peace permitted the colonists to bestow a thought upon their domestic institutions, the diffusion of Christianity amongst their negro slaves became an object of much solicitude and great expense. The vast extent of many parishes

A.D. 1816. being found an insuperable obstacle to the utmost exertions of the beneficed clergy, it became expedient to increase their number, which had not hitherto exceeded that of the parishes. An Act was therefore passed

London, and re-vest it in his Majesty; and likewise to make some further provisions for aiding the process, and executing the sentences of his Majesty's Commissaries.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"WILLIAM SCOTT."

"*January 7, 1798.*"

for the purpose of assisting the rectors in propagating the gospel amongst the slaves, by the appointment of curates. Their salary was fixed at 300*l.* per annum; and their duties defined to be the instruction of the negroes on estates*. The several parishes were required to provide "proper places, besides the church, where divine service might be performed on Sundays and holidays, by the rector or curate;" and the baptismal fee for a slave, which had in some cases been unreasonably exacted, was now limited to two shillings and sixpence.

This provision was not, however, found sufficient to in-

* During the least offensive period of the Spanish-American dominion, a subordinate clerical establishment was formed, whose constitution was, in some points, similar to that now recommended for Jamaica.

Rectorial curates officiated in those parishes where the Spanish population predominated, gathering the tithes which remained, after deducting one-fourth for the Bishop, one-fourth for the Chapter, and two-ninths for the King.

Doctrinal curates exercised curial functions in the Indian villages alone, and were forbidden to take any fees for the marriages, baptisms, or funerals of the Indians. They were allowed by the King a stipend of 183 dollars.

The missionaries catechised the Indians, and instructed them in the rudiments of civil life; they were volunteers, and lived by the sale of rosaries, chaplets, and scapularies.

This arrangement was made by Pope Paul III., A.D. 1544, when the American church underwent its great and final change.

Pontifex in Consistorio Cæsare petente cunctas cathedrales ecclesias Insularum maris magni Oceani orbis terrarum, quem vocant, Novi et Indiarum occidentalium disjunxit à provincia metropolitanæ ecclesiæ Hispalensis, cui metropolitico jure suberant, archiepiscopo Hispalense consentiente: illarumque episcopos, clerum, populum à correctione et jurisdictione ejusdem archiepiscopi omnino exemit. Urbesque magnas illarum regionum Mexicanam sancti Dominici, et regum sedes, metropolitanas constituit, earumque episcopis archiepiscopi dignitatem, jura pallium et crucem concessit. Mexicanæ verò sedi septem ecclesias, Antequerensem Mechoaconensem, Taxcalensem, Guatinaliensem civitatis regalis, Navensem, Chrapensem et quæ in posterum in nova Galitia, erigendæ sunt cathedrales subjecit Metropolitanæ sancti Dominici ecclesias octo, Conceptionis, Vegensem, Insulæ Sancti Joannis de Portorico, Insulæ Cuchæ, civitatis Decoro provinciæ de Venceuela, Sanctæ Marthæ, Carthaginis novæ Trugilli, provinciæ de Hondras: Regum archiepiscopali ecclesiæ sedes episcopales quinque, Cuscanam, Quitensem, Castelli de auro provinciæ terræ firmæ, Legionensem in provincia de Ricaragna, Papaianensem, et si quæ in futurum in eis regionibus erigendæ sunt, parere sanxit, et suffraganeos ipsarum more Sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ esse voluit.—See *Onuphrius de Vita Pont. Hist. Plantinæ*, p. 382; *edit. Colon. Agrip.* 1626.

duce an adequate number of clergymen to cross the Atlantic; and a representation to that effect having been made by the Bishop of London to the Duke of Manchester,—for an Act of the British Legislature had now placed the peculiar ordination of colonial clergy* in the hands of that prelate,—the House of Assembly, with a liberality which has ever distinguished all its measures having for their object the welfare of the slaves, immediately increased the curate's stipend to 500*l.* per annum.

A.D. 1818.

Many respectable clergymen then came to Jamaica; some were induced to change their destination to the King of Hayti, for Jamaica curacies; and others, already provided with salaries of from 80*l.* to 150*l.* sterling, by the Missionary Society in London, with an understanding that such salaries should cease as soon as they might succeed to island preferment. Insurmountable obstacles to the purport of their appointment still, however, presented themselves: few parishes could afford the expense of additional places of worship; few proprietors were sufficiently independent to encourage the professional visits of the curates to their slaves, whose valuable labour would be thus obstructed: and this expensive establishment became, under the pecuniary depression of the colony, little better that a provision for the assistance of the rectors in their own appropriate duties. In some instances, the want of employment within their own proper sphere led the curates to invade the rights of the beneficed clergy; and a notorious instance of this invasion induced the Assembly to amend the last law, by "securing to the beneficed ministers their full and accustomed fees, dues, emoluments, and gratuities," and removing all doubt touching the right of the island curates to participate therein." It was during the same session, that the diminished resources of the colony called for all practicable modes of retrenchment; and it being the

A.D. 1822.

* Clergymen thus ordained were not immediately eligible to British benefices; neither are those now ordained by the colonial bishops;—another anomaly, not tending to the desired respectability of the West Indian church.

general opinion that the Ecclesiastical Court was inefficient; the salaries of its public officers were discontinued; while a message was sent to the Governor, requesting him not to add to the number of curates already appointed, except where places of worship might be erected for them to officiate in.

That the inhabitants of Jamaica have not been illiberal*,

* From the period of the earliest occupation of Jamaica by the British, the charitable donations and devises have been very considerable. In the year 1737, when the first enumeration of them was called for by the Legislature, the amount already exceeded 9,000*l.* in money, besides much landed property. In all the parishes large sums had been bequeathed to the poor, and for the erection of churches. Although the circumstances of an infant colony caused the lapse of some, the parishes of Saint Ann, Saint Andrew, Saint Catherine, Kingston, Vere, and Westmoreland, were found richly endowed when the next return was called for by the House of Assembly in the year 1790. Another return has lately been ordered by the same authority; and, although the research of the solicitor of the Crown has not been completed with such success as to render available some which have been neglected, or misapplied, the following appropriations, amongst an infinity of smaller ones, may be sufficient to show, that it is not with the new order of things that charity and benevolence have been imported to this traduced colony:—

Saint Ann's Parish.—The Jamaica Free School was founded, on the will of Charles Drax, in the year 1721. The bequest lay dormant until the year 1798, when an Act of the Assembly enabled the parish to institute proceedings for its recovery against William Beckford, who was in possession of the estate on which it was charged. The chances of law, or the urgency of the occasion, rendered it advisable to give a discharge to the estate upon the payment of 11,200*l.* A considerable sum was added from the parochial funds; and, in the year 1805, 12,956*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* were vested in island securities wherewith to establish the school. Walton Pen, consisting of 275 acres of land, with a house, was purchased in the following year for the sum of 8,000*l.*; and the Receiver-General was desired by the Assembly to pay 8*l.* per cent. annual interest on the sum remaining in his hands, which amounted to 14,000*l.* In the year 1820, the sum of 6,253*l.*, which, in a Chancery suit, became at the disposal of his Grace, the Chancellor, applicable to charitable uses, was, by the Duke of Manchester's discriminating benevolence, added to this fund.

The total income of the establishment is now about 1,700*l.* per annum, which educates, maintains, and clothes ten boys, nominated by the parish, and six named by the Governor. In the session of 1825, a grant of 1,500*l.* displayed the liberal desire of the public to extend the means of instruction, and the dissemination of Christianity, by the addition of a chapel to the establishment. The master's salary is 300*l.*, and he is allowed to appoint an under-master with 150*l.* per annum. Under the management of the late

or its legislature parsimonious in the church establishment, the annexed estimate will prove. The salary of the rectors has been now increased to 600*l.* per annum; but the additional 180*l.* being given as an equiva-

A.D. 1826.

master, the establishment rose to the first in the island; public examinations took place twice a year; and, besides the objects of the foundation, thirty-one boys were educated there at 70*l.* per annum each. The present master is permitted to hold the curacy of the parish; but the chapel being thirty miles distant, he is under an engagement to the trustees, not to quit the school, but to pay half the salary of his cure to an officiating curate.

It is a curious record, that the estate of Drax Hall still remains charged with the sum of 500*l.* payable to the same fund, whenever the old Spanish abbey at Seville d'Oro shall be rebuilt.

KINGSTON.—In the year 1695 Sir Nicholas Lawes bequeathed his estate, in default of heirs, to found a free-school for the benefit of the parishes of Kingston and St. Andrew. A school was consequently incorporated, with a seal, bearing the founder's arms; but it failed for want of sufficient means, and the land was attached to the rectory. Twelve years afterwards, Zacariah Gaulton left 80*l.* per annum to pay a master, and 500*l.* to build a school-house; and in 1721 Benjamin Cotman bequeathed his estate for the same purpose. —— Wolmer, in 1729, gave his estate; and in 1734, Samuel Turpin added the rent of several houses to aid the charity. In 1736 it was incorporated, with suitable powers, and a seal, bearing the sun bursting through a cloud. In the year 1809 Sarah Morris left 3,440*l.* 9*s.* 3½*d.* to be laid out at interest; and that interest is now divided amongst the poor of the parishes of Kingston and Saint Andrew.

SAINT ANDREW.—Roger Elletson, in the year 1690, gave 20*l.* towards the foundation of a school. Edward Harrison, in 1695, and Charles Delacree, in the succeeding year, each bequeathed 10*l.* per annum for the same purpose. The bequests, however, were allowed to lie dormant until the year 1789, when the principal and interest were estimated at 14,710*l.*; no part of which has, however, been recovered. But in 1771 John Simmons bequeathed some slaves for the use of the parish poor; and in 1821 that bequest was so far rendered available, that 100*l.* per annum was raised on it.

SAINT CATHERINE.—In the year 1730, Peter Beckford bequeathed the sum of 1000*l.* for the purpose of endowing a free-school, or hospital; and John Ellis devised 200*l.* in aid of the same.—Beckford also gave another sum of 1000*l.* to the poor of the parish; and the legislature appropriated all these bequests to the existing establishment, which was incorporated in the year 1744: when Thomas Barritt charged his property with 40*l.* per annum; and, fifteen years afterwards, Mary Baldwin charged hers with 50*l.* per annum, in aid of the same institution. Mr. Gregory, also, gave the yearly interest of 3,600*l.* for the relief of paupers, and Fletcher's bequest of 160*l.* clothes three poor widows.

CLARENDON.—Edward Pennant, in the year 1736, left 200*l.* for a school, and books; and a School was thence founded on Old Woman's Savannah, aided by subscriptions to the amount of 2000*l.* It flourished about

lent for the fees hitherto taken from slaves, the aggregate value of the livings is very little affected by it, although it has had the effect of more nearly equalising them all.

In this Table the extent, as well as the slave population

the year 1758; when, by some ill management, it failed; the premises were vested in trustees for sale, and the institution vanished.

SAINT JOHN.—Philip Vicarry, in 1676, left 100*l.* to endow a free-school, but, unaided by further means, no school was ever established.

HANOVER.—Martin Rusea left his personal estate in the year 1764, to found a free school. Some proceedings in chancery added part of the real estate of the testator, and a school was established, with the assistance of a parochial grant, in 1777.

SAINT GEORGE.—John Hanger left the remainder of his estate for the erection of a school; but no such charitable institution ever existed there. In 1772 six hundred acres of land were granted by patent to the rector for a glebe.

SAINT THOMAS IN THE EAST.—The bequest of 300*l.*, with two acres of land, by Mrs. Cussans, in the year 1745, for the purpose of building a chapel, was never rendered available—and no charitable foundation exists there.

SAINT DAVID.—Thomas Martin, in the year 1684, left 50*l.* per annum, to pay a schoolmaster; and a house at Port Royal, with 12*l.* per annum, to educate twelve poor scholars:—but no such endowment exists.

PORT ROYAL.—Thomas Martin made a similar bequest for the same purposes, for the use of this parish; but it was never rendered available.

SAINT ELIZABETH.—John Mills, in 1711, after several entails, left money to establish a free-school: but no such institution ever existed; nor are any funds now available, except such as may arise from the will of the late Cabel Dickenson. More than eleven hundred acres of land had been originally granted, or bequeathed, to the parish; and in 1753 these lands were sold for the benefit of the rector, and his successors—to which endowment more was added, in 1760.

PORTLAND.—When the village of Tichfield was built, in the early part of the last century, it was deemed expedient to appropriate some of the neighbouring lands to the maintenance of a free-school; and an act of the Assembly incorporated it in the year 1785, with certain powers, and a seal bearing the figure of Apollo inviting youth to the temple of Fame, with the inscription *virtute et eruditione*. The present rent-roll of these improved lands produces the annual sum of 600*l.*

TRELAWNEY.—No endowed school existing.

MANCHESTER.—No endowments of any kind.

SAINT DOROTHY.—No bequest or institution whatever.

VERE.—Rains Waite, in the year 1694, left the remainder of his estate to poor children; and in 1740, other bequests were added. All were incorporated with suitable powers, and a seal, whose device was, on one side, a boy with a book in his hand, and on the reverse, another with a mallet and

of each parish, is taken from official returns, and the arrangement is made according to that extent. The auxiliary clergy on the episcopal establishment receive 300*l.* sterling, paid in London, to which, in some cases, island curacies are joined.

chisel, making a cotton gin, included in the orbicular inscription *eruditione et labore.* The funds at present amount to 12,000*l.*, vested in Island certificates, bearing 6*l.* per cent. interest, with a parcel of land, rented to Money-musk estate, for 383*l.* per annum, and some slaves, leased by the proprietor of Pusey Hall estate, for the annual sum of 103*l.* There is besides an excellent house, with five acres of land—and the establishment, which has been lately opened to the adjoining parishes of Manchester and Clarendon, maintains twelve boys.

WESTMORELAND.—Thomas Manning, in 1710, left thirteen slaves with land, and the produce of a pen and cattle, to endow a free-school. It was incorporated in the year 1738; with a seal bearing the figure of an infant at the breast of charity; and the funds now amount to 3,194*l.* 5*s.*, in the receiver general's hands; with 7,270*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* secured by bond and mortgage, on the estate of A. Storer.

SAINT THOMAS IN THE VALE.—No charitable institutions available.

SAINT JAMES.—There is no foundation school here.—Early in the last century an act of the legislature appropriated 1,400*l.* per annum to the maintenance of such an establishment;—but it failed in effect; and the charity is now solely dependent on the liberality of the parishioners, who raise annually 300*l.* for a master, and 12*l.* 10*s.* for each poor scholar who may be sent to him.

SAINT MARY.—In the year 1688, Sir Henry Morgan gave 100*l.* to aid the bequest of 100*l.* sterling, by Joachim Hane, and to found a school. In 1709, 200*l.* was left to build a church; and in the following year ninety acres of land to assist the poor: while 150*l.* was devised by Samuel Skreyer for the same purpose. But nothing was rendered available to the establishment of a school.

An Estimate of the Extent, Slave Population, number of Proprietors, and State of the Church Preferment of Jamaica; calculated from an average of the years 1823 *and* 1824.

SAINT ANN.

235,260 Acres. 24,761 Slaves.
476 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£200	
Vestry allowances	400	
Church burials	50	
		650
		£1028

No Rectory. Thirty acres of glebe.
An Island Curate.

SAINT ELIZABETH.

214,008 Acres. 18,350 Slaves.
389 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£245	
Church burials	50	
		295
		£673

A Rectory, with 300 acres of glebe, and 68 slaves.
An Island Curate and Auxiliary.

CLARENDON.

198,546 Acres. 17,608 Slaves.
167 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£159	
Vestry allowances	180	
Church burials	30	
		369
		£747

A Rectory and small glebe. An Island Curate.

WESTMORELAND.

175,057 Acres. 21,216 Slaves.
395 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£179	
Church burials	30	
Burial of paupers	30	
		239
		£617

A Rectory and small glebe. An Island Curate.

TRELAWNEY.

167,457 Acres. 26,795 Slaves.
419 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£307	
Vestry allowances	200	
		507
		£885

A Rectory. Garrison chaplaincy usually attached.
An Island Curate.

MANCHESTER.

156,314 Acres. 17,416 Slaves.
223 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£150	
Vestry allowances	440	
Rent of glebe	100	
Church burials	50	
		740
		£1018

No Rectory.

SAINT JAMES.

141,731 Acres. 24,130 Slaves.
572 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£290	
Vestry allowances	270	
		560
		£938

A Rectory. An Island Curate.

SAINT THOMAS IN THE EAST.

129,354 Acres. 24,789 Slaves.
308 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£497	
Vestry allowances	200	
Church burials	50	
		747
		£1125

A Rectory. An Island Curate.

SAINT MARY.

119,565 Acres. 25,402 Slaves.
439 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£128	
Vestry allowances	120	
Church burials	60	
		308
		£686

A Rectory. An Island Curate, retaining the pay of a Missionary; and an Auxiliary.

HANOVER.

113,612 Acres. 22,256 Slaves.
370 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£...	
Vestry allowances	..	
Church burials	..	
		...
		£...

An Island Curate.

SAINT GEORGE.

83,024 Acres. 12,655 Slaves.

268 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£131	
Vestry allowances	350	
Church burials	30	
		511
		£889

No Rectory.

SAINT THOMAS IN THE VALE.

80,944 Acres. 12,050 Slaves.

223 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£32	
Vestry allowances	350	
Church burials	30	
		412
		£790

No Rectory. One Slave. An Island Curate.

SAINT ANDREW.

77,929 Acres. 15,316 Slaves.

326 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£250	
Rent of glebe	730	
Church burials	50	
		1030
		£1408

A Rectory. An Island Curate, and an Auxiliary.

PORTLAND.

65,780 Acres. 8,018 Slaves.

161 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£75	
Vestry allowances	70	
		145
		£523

A Rectory. An Island Curate.

SAINT CATHERINE.

63,593 Acres. 7,357 Slaves.
282 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Church burials	£ 70	
Rent of glebe	80	
Fees	590	
		740
		£1118

Garrison chaplaincy usually attached.

SAINT JOHN.

63,269 Acres. 6,295 Slaves.
152 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£25	
Vestry allowances	50	
Rent of glebe	50	
		125
		£503

A Rectory, and eleven Slaves.

VERE.

54,799 Acres. 7,759 Slaves.
63 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£ 45	
Vestry allowances	200	
Rent of glebe	50	
		295
		£673

A Rectory.

SAINT DAVID.

48,697 Acres. 7,704 Slaves.
100 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£ 94	
Vestry allowances	100	
Church burials	30	
		224
		£602

A Rectory.

SAINT DOROTHY.

34,617 Acres. 4,759 Slaves.
105 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£130	
Vestry allowances	100	
Church burials	20	
		250
		£628

A Rectory and glebe.

PORT ROYAL.

25,063 Acres. 6,407 Slaves.
184 Proprietors.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£100	
Church burials	30	
		130
		£508

A Rectory. Garrison chaplaincy usually annexed.
An Island Curate.

KINGSTON*.

3,967 Acres. 6,095 Slaves.

* The number of inhabitants, or even of proprietors, in the city of Kingston, it would be extremely difficult to ascertain, by far the greater part being Jews and free persons of colour, whose political disabilities exclude them from the parish rolls. One hundred and sixty-eight freeholders only are recorded, while nine hundred and fifty-three houses, penns, and wharfs, are assessed.

Stipend		£378
Fees	£1200	
City allowances	410 „	
		1610
		£1988

No Rectory. Garrison chaplaincy usually attached. An Island Curate, paid also as a Missionary; and an Auxiliary.

Thus it appears that the average annual expenditure of Jamaica has of late years been not far short of thirty thousand pounds upon her ecclesiastical establishment alone: a fact so little understood elsewhere, that she receives no credit for having maintained any such establishment.

	Current Money.
The rectors' stipends	£8,820
The curates' salaries	10,550
The aggregate vestry allowances	3,430
The average sum drawn from the inhabitants for surplus fees	5,372
	£28,172

To this sum must be added the original sum applied to building, and the annual expenditure in maintaining thirty-nine churches and chapels.

Such was the state of the church here,—with the exception of the auxiliary curates or missionaries, as distributed in the foregoing table,—when the British government, justly conceiving that this expenditure required a proper direction, raised the colony and its dependencies into a see. A bishop was consecrated; his arrival was hailed with enthusiasm, and called forth those feelings of respect which were due. Through such means the friends of humanity may confidently look forward to eventual, and we would fain hope, to salutary emancipation; so far at least, as the negro race is concerned.—The fate of the West India proprietors is another consideration, which it may be more difficult to meet with a similar regard to the calls of justice, or the feelings of benevolence.

The episcopal establishment paid by the British government, was thus instituted:—

	Current Money.	
The bishop's salary	£5,600	Drawn for upon the Treasury.
The archdeacon's	2,800	
Six auxiliary curates'	2,500	
	£10,900	

Pluralities in church preferment have never been known in Jamaica;—and if, in some late instances, the auxiliary curates, who were introduced only to increase the effective strength of the resident clergy, have been suffered to exclude the unprovided by retaining their English stipends after they have become possessed of island benefices, it is an excrescence arising from the new episcopal establishment, and which has hitherto been overlooked in the transfer of authority.

To consolidate and amend all the foregoing laws, and to invest the bishop of Jamaica with ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as far as his clergy are concerned, a bill was passed in the first session of the assembly which followed his arrival, and of whose prominent features the following is an outline:—

The 1st clause repeals the several acts relating to the clergy, reciting the letters patent of the bishop of Jamaica; and enacts that all such laws, ordinances, and canons, ecclesiastical, as are now used in England, so far as relates to the due ordering and ecclesiastical regimen of, and jurisdiction over, the clergy, shall be in force within this island; but providing it shall not extend to any juridical authority, spiritual or temporal, over the lay inhabitants, or to abridge the jurisdiction of the governor, as ordinary, in probates of wills, letters testamentary of administration or of guardianship, or with respect to the presentation or induction to the several churches, or other authority, juridical or otherwise, usually exercised by the governor.

The 3rd clause appoints a registrar, with a salary of 300*l.*; and an apparitor, with a salary of 80*l.*

4.—The judges of the supreme court authorised to aid in enforcing and carrying on the provisions of this act.

5, 6, 7.—Rectors' salaries fixed at 600*l.* per annum, subject to a deduction of 42*l.* per annum, the interest of which to be applied to the maintenance of rectors' widows and children; and trustees appointed to manage it under the act passed the 1st Geo. IV.

8.—Rectors empowered to lease glebe lands for twenty-one years.

9.—But not to grant any lease until existing leases expire.

10.—Oath to be taken on granting leases, but not to lease the parsonage.

11.—Not to receive fees out of their own parishes.

12.—Rectors declared freeholders, and to vote at elections.

13.—Not to marry, unless banns published three times, or by a licence from the governor, under penalty of 100*l.*

14.—Fixing the fees of rectors as follows:—

FUNERALS.

	£.	s.	d.
Meeting the corpse at the parochial burial-ground, and reading only the grave service	1	6	8
Meeting and interring at any other place, with grave service	2	13	4
For the full service of the church, and afterwards attending the corpse to the parochial burial-ground	2	13	4
If from the church to any other place of interment than the parochial burial-ground, then in addition	2	13	4
For each tablet or cenotaph erected in the church	16	0	0
For any grave with brick-work, and building a tomb over it	8	0	0
For a vault not exceeding in dimensions ten feet square, constructed with stone or brick, or enclosed with railings	16	0	0
For every tomb erected over a single grave	5	6	8

MARRIAGES.

In church, on Sunday, by banns	1	6	8
By license	2	13	4
In any other place, or on any other day	4	0	0

CHRISTENINGS.

Baptism in church on Sunday	0	5	0
In any other place, or on any other day	1	0	0
For travelling to perform any service, in addition to what is given above, for every mile beyond the first mile from the church, or his place of residence	1	0	0
Extracts from the register, comparing and attesting each	0	5	0

15.—Rectors to appropriate a portion of time every Sunday, to instruct free persons and slaves.

16.—They shall reside in their parishes, and officiate every Sunday, and catechize, one hour at least, once in every week, on a day by them to be fixed.—Receiver-general not to pay stipend without a certificate of such residence and service from the bishop; except during leave of absence from the governor, granted upon a certificate from the bishop, or in his absence, the archdeacon, or in absence of both, the commissaries or rectors of Saint Catherine, Kingston and Saint Andrew; but no leave of absence to exceed eighteen months: domestic chaplain of the governor excepted, as also the chaplains to the council and assembly.

17.—Rectors or curates, absent for three months together, without leave, or for that period, (though at different times in one year,) without the bishop's consent, and appointing a substitute, to forfeit 200*l.*, which receiver-general is empowered to deduct from his stipend, on a certificate of the absence from the bishop. If absent more than eighteen months, the bishop may declare the living vacant.

18.—No lapse of stipend to affect the widows' fund*.

* When, in the year 1787, the fund for the maintenance of the widows and orphans of the deceased clergy was instituted, there was no other description of clergy in the island than rectors; from whose salary, of three hundred pounds sterling, an annual deduction of ten per cent, was made for its establishment. The same sum still continues to be deducted from their increased salary, and is retained by the receiver-general, from whose office it is issued to the objects of the charity. The recent appointments of curates and auxiliaries does not, therefore, interfere with it. An act of the assembly (1st. Geo. IV. c. 21) has lately placed the charity under further regulations. It enacts that, during the ten current years, one-fourth of the ten per cent. shall be added to the annual means;—that during the next ten years, one-half shall be so applied—and three-quarters during the succeeding ten;—at the expiration of these thirty years, the whole sum arising from the annual deduction becoming part of the disposable income. This law also determines, that if, after *ten* years, a rector should resign his living upon the plea of age or infirmity, his widow and children shall, after his death, be entitled to half the dividend; but that if such rector should have contributed to the fund during *fifteen* years, then, whenever or wherever he may die, his family will be upon an equal footing with the other objects of the charity.

There seems, however, no prospect of this fund long answering the good

19, 20.—Rectors and curates to visit estates, workhouses, hospitals, and gaols, as directed by the bishop; and enter in a book at each place, the times of his attendance, and duties performed.

21.—No fee to be taken from slaves.

22.—Justices and vestry of parishes empowered to lay a tax to purchase land for burial-grounds, and to build chapels and parsonages.

purposes it was intended to effect. It is overburthened already, and the dividend is so trifling, that the pittance affords no means of support.

The charitable consideration of their parishioners has always proved a more efficient and not less gratifying relief to the poor widow and helpless orphan, while many an act of benevolence, though passing without a record, has bespoken the prayers of the grateful for the prosperity of Jamaica.

The state of the Widows' charity on the 30th September, 1825, was as follows:—

	£.	s.	d.
Amount of balance	22,134	0	0
Add to this, three-quarters of the amount of the ten per cent. deduction from clergy stipends, for preceding year	661	10	0
Total of capital	22,795	10	0
Disposable income from Sept. 1824, to Sept. 1825, consisted of the interest upon £22,134	1,328	0	9
Added to one-fourth of the ten per cent on clergy stipends	220	10	0
	1,548	10	9

During the period above referred to, the number of applicants relieved by the charity was forty-six, namely,

Class 1.	Widows	14
2.	Children, fatherless	27
3.	Children bereaved of both parents	5

	£	s.	d.
1. Widows received at the rate of, per annum	70	0	0
2. Children	22	10	0
3. Children	35	0	0

The oppression on the fund has now reduced these three classes to the rate of—

	£	s.	d.
1.	65	0	0
2.	21	5	0
3.	33	15	0

23.—Declares it a neglect of duty in justices and vestry not to keep churches, chapels, church-yards, and parsonages, in sufficient order and repair.

24.—Justices and vestry to cause lands granted for the use of rectors by private persons, to be run out, and boundaries ascertained; and in cases of trespass, to proceed for recovery.

25.—Taxes under this act to be recovered in like manner as other taxes.

26, 27.—Rectors prohibited from permitting burials in churches, under a penalty of 500*l.*; and compensation to be granted in parishes as follows:—Saint Catherine, 70*l.*; Kingston, 110*l.*; Port Royal, 30*l.*; Saint Andrew and Saint Thomas in the east, 50*l.* each.; Portland, 20*l.*; Saint Anns, St. James, Hanover, Saint Elizabeth, 50*l.* each; Clarendon 30*l.*; Saint Dorothy, 20*l.*; Vere and Saint Thomas in the Vale, 30*l.* each.; Westmoreland, 60*l.*; and every other parish, 30*l.*

28, 29.—No minister of the established church to officiate in this island, other than rectors and curates, without a license from the bishop, and paying 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to the registrar; which shall remain in full force in cases of death or resignation, until revoked by his successor.

30.—Rectors unable to discharge duty from age, infirmity, or other cause, bishop may cause him to nominate a fit person to perform the duties, with a stipend to be approved by the bishop; and in case of refusal to nominate, after six weeks' notice, the bishop may appoint and fix the stipend, not exceeding 500*l.* for a rector, and 300*l.* for a curate; to be deducted from the stipend of the person unable to do his duties; notice to be given of the name of the person appointed to the vestry.

31.—Rectors empowered to appoint clerks, but not to be removed without consent of the bishop.

32, 33.—Curates allowed 500*l.* annually, to be paid quarterly, on certificate of bishop as to residence and discharge of duties, except in cases of leave of absence, similar to rectors; and their duties regulated in same manner. See clause 15.

34.—Priests or deacons may solemnize marriage.

35.—Curates may marry slaves on estates, or in chapels; but banns must be published with consent of owners, attornies, &c.

36.—Curates not otherwise to interfere in duties of rectors, nor receive fees for any duty, except by authority of rector, or forfeit to him 20*l.*, for each offence, to be recovered before any justice: in case of repeated offences the bishop may punish even to suspension.

37.—Parishes may assist each other in building chapels; not exceeding 600*l.*

38.—Registers of baptisms, marriages and burials, to be kept by rectors, in books provided by parishes, in fourteen days after ceremony.

39.—When such ceremonies performed by other persons instead of rector, certificates to be transmitted to him to be entered.

40, 41.—Registry to belong to parish, but be kept by the rector: a book must also be kept for registering christenings, marriages, and burials of slaves.

42.—Copies of all registers heretofore in use, to be sent to the registrar, to be deposited in his office at Saint Jago de la Vega, to be called "The Bishop's Office of Registry."

43, 44, 45.—Curates to make a return every three months to the rectors, to be registered. Rectors, on the 30th of June in every year, to send copies to registrar, attested, as also a copy by the 30th of June next, of all registers hitherto kept.

46.—Report of such returns to be made to the bishop before the 31st of July next, who is to report such as have been neglected. The registrar to cause alphabetical lists to be made, to be open to public search.

47, 48.—Registrar to cause books to be secured and arranged within three months, under penalty of 100*l.*; and be paid for recording at the same rate as the secretary of the island.

49.—Copies from register, certified by registrar, or if from parish books, by oath of person comparing with register, to be admitted in all courts.

50.—Persons making false entries in register, or altering or destroying it, or copies transmitted to it, guilty of felony. Errors may, however, be corrected: rectors still entitled to fees for copies of registration.

51.—All proceedings exempted from stamp duty.

52.—Penalties to be recovered in grand and assize courts.

53.—In case of demise or absence of the bishop, archdeacon empowered to act; and in his absence, the commissaries and rectors of Saint Catherine, Kingston, and Saint Andrew.

54.—Registrar's office to be opened, on all lawful days, from seven in the morning until three in the afternoon, under penalty of 50*l.* for each neglect.

55.—This Act declared in force until December 31, 1830.

The most important clause in this law, is that which empowers the slave *to demand* the gratuitous services of the clergy. It removes from that ill-pictured being a disability which oft, in happier lands, retards the poor Christian aspirant; and speaks volumes in favour of the calumniated colonists.

Many anomalies will, however, strike the judicious reader as being still retained; yet as many have been effaced as the difficulties of the case, and the peculiarities of the colony, will at present allow. The subject was not new to the legislators of Jamaica; but the occasion certainly was. They were animated with a desire to show all possible respect to the dignitary whom his Majesty had exalted to their see, and they placed even greater power in his hands than is, perhaps, consistent with the inherent rights of one class of persons, over whom he was to preside. Yet they rightly judged that it was of the greatest importance, in a country where the public holds the purse which pays the clergy, to guard against any encroachment upon their own privileges; or upon those of their governor, who, as the King's representative, is still at the head of the church, and continues to dispense the ecclesiastical preferment of the Crown. Indeed, so limited is the patronage vested in him, that, were

he deprived of that privilege, little would remain to support the important and salutary interests of his government, to reward merit, or secure gratitude. His authority has been considerably modified, and somewhat curtailed, by the sixteenth and seventeenth clauses of the new law; but in no very material point besides; while a desire to maintain the respectability of the see has been sufficiently manifested in the several clauses from the thirty-eighth to the fiftieth; where an expense has been entailed upon the exhausted country, as great in its amount, as it is equivocal in its benefit.

Where so many peculiarities necessarily exist, experience alone can render a new establishment perfect. In the mean time, the colonists—lay as well as clerical—are actively co-operating in their respective local influences; and such a division of charitable effort, like the common division of labour, must, in the end, be productive of all the good we aim at. There can now remain no pretence for the fanatical bewailings and insidious exaggerations of the self-constituted keepers of colonial morals. The peasantry of our parishes can be no longer exhibited, by those wandering apostles of popular sedition, to the jaundiced gaze of the restless and discontented, as held in shades of heathen darkness, or helplessly subjected to barbarian cruelty. Our clergy, and the most irreproachable of our laity, can be no more insulted by a frenetic faction, with deafening denunciations of the state of those whom, at the very risk of their humble fortunes, they are doing their utmost to instruct and humanise. The Church of England is now, in Jamaica at least, doing her duty conscientiously and unequivocally.

Section III.

Notes on the Natural History of Jamaica.

Part First.

The centre of Jamaica lies in lat. 18° 12′ N., and in long. 76° 45′ W., at the distance of about four thousand miles from Great Britain. The island is about one hundred and fifty miles in length; and the mean of three measurements, at different points, makes it nearly forty-five miles in breadth; the area would therefore be somewhere about 3,842,000 acres: nearly that of Wales; and pretty nearly that of the United Provinces, or of the Morea, or the Holy Land.

Jamaica	6758 square English miles.
Wales	7011
Morea	7220
United Provinces.....	7546
Palestine	7600

But as this country abounds with lofty mountains, a tenth may be added for the difference between the superficies and the base; which will increase the quantity of land to upwards of four millions of acres.

According to a return of the Clerk of the Patents, in the year 1789, there were then about two millions of acres occupied by grants from the Crown: of what was left and fit for cultivation, very little remains at the present day.

In the year 1670, that is, fifteen years after it had been in the possession of the British, there were six hundred sugar mills at work.

The island was divided into fifteen parishes by the first act of the Council, in the year 1677; and that division was confirmed by a law of the newly-constituted Assembly in 1681.

SURREY	Saint George.
	Saint Thomas.
	Saint David.
	Port Royal.
	Saint Andrew.
MIDDLESEX.	Saint Catherine.
	Saint Dorothy.
	Saint Thomas in the Valley.
	Clarendon.
	Vere.
	Saint John.
	Saint Mary.
	Saint Ann.
CORNWALL...	Saint James.
	Saint Elizabeth.

Kingston was withdrawn from	Saint Andrew in the year	1693.
Westmoreland	Saint Elizabeth	1703.
Hanover.	Westmoreland	1723.
Portland.	St. Thomas and St. George	1723.
Trelawny	Saint James.	1774.
Manchester	Vere, Clarendon, and St. Elizabeth	1815.

In the year 1758, the great increase of inhabitants rendered it necessary to constitute other courts than that held in Spanish Town, where alone, until that period, all pleas, civil, criminal, and mixed, could be tried: the island was therefore apportioned between the three counties, as above; and an Assize Court was constituted in each.

In 1699, the parishes of Saint Andrew and Kingston had been united in one precinct; but no such Act is now to be found on record.

The heights of the following places were lately computed from barometrical observations: mean temperature of lat. 18°, being 78.9; and the height of the term of congelation, in same lat. 14,884 feet:—

	Feet above the Sea.
The highest summit of Blue-Mountain Range.....	7700
The ridge from which that Peak rises	7163
The ridge to the eastward of Portland Gap	6501
Portland Gap	5640
Catherine's Peak	4970
Abbey-Green House, Saint David	4233
Clifton House, Saint Andrew	4228

	Feet above the Sea.
Flamstead House, Port Royal	3800
Sheldon House, Saint David	3417
Middleton House, Saint Andrew	2340
Stoney-hill Barracks	1360
Green Castle, Saint Mary	1328
Hope Tavern, Saint Andrew	699

The estimated internal value and intrinsic cost of the colony of Jamaica, at the present moment, A.D. 1826:—

	Sterling Money.
Slaves	£24,000,000
Lands patented	18,000,000
Forts and Barracks	1,000,000
Private Buildings	12,000,000
Stock, &c.	5,000,000
Gold and Silver Coin	200,000
Total	£60,200,000

Although a calculating political economist of the present day will little sympathise with the peaceful triumphs of those active and generous spirits, who have propagated the truest wealth, and extended the most innocent luxuries of the people, the ancient Romans entertained a very different opinion. Even their Consular men, and great captains, were honoured in the names of the fruits they introduced: so that, as Sir William Temple observes, "not only laws and battles, but several sorts of apples and pears were called Manlian and Claudian, Pompeyan and Tiberian." Pliny has paid his tribute of applause to Lucullus, for bringing cherry and nut trees from Pontus into Italy; and we have many modern examples where the name of the transplanter has been preserved in this sort of creation. Yet it is an instance of forgetful ingratitude, that the name of one of the greatest benefactors, Sir Walter Raleigh, has not been immortalized in a similar way; for to him we are indebted, not only for the luxury of the tobacco-plant, but for that infinitely useful root the potatoe, which he brought from America, and which forms half of our daily food, and the entire meal of thousands. The very names of many of the vegetable kingdom indicate their locality; from the majestic

cedar of Lebanon to the small Cos lettuce. The cherry came from Cerasuntis; the peach, or Persicum, or Mala Persica, from Persia; the pistachio, or psittacia, is the Syrian word for that nut; the chesnut, or chataigne, or Castagna, from Castagna, a town of Magnesia. Our plums, coming chiefly from Syria and Damascus, the damson, or damascene, speaks its own distant origin.

It is curious to observe, that there exists an unsuspected intercourse amongst nations in the propagation of exotic plants. Many examples of this fact may be deduced from America; but there is one still more familiar to us. Lucullus introduced cherries from Pontus to Italy, after the war with Mithridates. The fruit was found so palatable, that it was rapidly propagated; and six and twenty years afterwards, as Pliny assures us, the cherry-tree passed over into Britain. Thus, a victory obtained by a Roman Consul over a King of Pontus, with which it would seem that Britain could have no concern, was in fact the means of her possessing one of the most esteemed productions of nature. The greater number of the exotic fruits and flowers, however, which now enrich or decorate the orchards or gardens of England, were carefully transported thither by our travelled countrymen. Accident has preserved the names of some of these benefactors. The learned Linacre, on his return from Italy, introduced the damask rose; and Thomas Lord Cromwell, in the reign of Henry VIII., enriched our gardens with three sorts of plums. "Sir Anthony Ashly first planted cabbages; and accordingly a cabbage appears at his feet on his monument. Sir Richard Weston brought clover-grass from Flanders in 1645; and the figs planted by Cardinal Pole at Lambeth, in the reign of Henry VIII., are still existing there. The first mulberry-trees, which, according to the Harleian MSS., were brought by Stallenge in 1608, are yet standing at Sion House; and the elder Tradescant, in 1620, entered on board a privateer armed against Morocco, solely with a view of stealing apricots into Britain. In the reign of Elizabeth, Grindal, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, returning from his exile, transported the tamarisk; and the

currant-bush was transplanted when commerce commenced with Zante. Oranges were first brought to England by one of the Carew family, and the trees for a century afterwards flourished at Beddington in Surrey. Turnips, carrots, parsnips, peas, and rape, were imported from Holland. Hops were first planted in the reign of Henry VIII.; onions and saffron came from Spain; and artichokes were introduced by Queen Elizabeth.

An English fruit garden, in the year 1612, is thus described in PEACHAM'S *Emblems* :—

> The Persian peach, and fruitful quince,
> And there the forward almond grew,
> With cherries, known no long time since;
> The winter warden, orchard's pride;
> The philibert that loves the vale;
> And red queen-apple, so envide
> Of school-boies, passing by the pale.

"The quince," says Le Grand, "came from Sydon, in Crete;" and the filbert, Peacham observes, was "so named of Philibert, a king of France, who caused by arte sundry kinds to be brought forth; as did a gardener of Otranto in Italie clove gilliflowers and carnations, of such colours as we now see them." The queen-apple, mentioned above, was probably so distinguished in compliment to Queen Elizabeth. In MOFFET'S *Health's Improvement*, there is an account of apples which are said to have been "grafted upon a mulberry stock, and then were throughout red as our queen-apples, called, by Ruellius, Rubelliana; and Claudiana by Pliny."

Columbus, on his second voyage to America, provided his fleet with plants and seeds of every description, and in abundance, wherewith to supply his new discoveries with the productions of Europe. Arriving amongst the Antilles, he there distributed most of these exotics; and there they long flourished in greater perfection, Acosta says, than on the continent. That author enumerates "le froment, l'orge, les pores, ou verdure, et toutes sortes de légumes, aussi les laictues, choux, raues, oygnons, ail, persil, naueaux, pastenades, berengenes, scariolles, betes, espinards, garuences, ou

poids, febues, lentilles, et finallement, tout ce qui croist par deça de domestique, et de profit." " J'entens," says he, " par le plantes profitable, celles qui outre ce que l'on en mange au logis, apportent de l'argent à leur maistre. La principale desquelle est la vigne." Though the vine, as Acosta observes, never flourished generally in the Antilles, Benzo attests the fact, that on the north side of Jamaica, in the neighbourhood of their first city, the Spaniards cultivated extensive vineyards, and thence made a very tolerable claret. Indeed, such is even yet made from grapes growing near Dry Harbour. Olives, the same author says, flourished only in Mexico and Peru; the plant was unsuccessfully tried in Jamaica.

Oviedo, the philosophical historian of these Islands, thus enumerates the plants which the first conquerors brought from Castille. He describes their progress under a foreign climate, and explains the reason which caused vast numbers to fail.

" On a apporté quelques orangers de Castille, partie doux, partie aigres, qui s'y sont bien augmentés et multipliés. Item, des limoniers et citroniers, en aussi grand nombre qu'en grande bonté; si qu'il n'y en a point de meilleurs dans l'Andalousie. Item, plusieurs figuiers, produissant fort bonnes figues toute l'année, et ces arbres y viennent fort bien. Les figues sont de celles qu'on appelle, en Castille, Godenes, et en Arragon, et Catalogne, Burgacotes; la plupart desquelles ont les petits grains de dedans rouge, combien qu'aucuns soient blancs. Item, plusieurs bonnes grenades. Item, des coings, mais qui ne viennent pas bien, ni en si grande abondance que les fruits sus dits, car avec ce qu'ils sont petits, ils ne sont pas fort bons, ains rudes. Ce n'est toutefois sans espoir qu'ils viendront meilleurs avec le tems. Item, quelque palmes ont été plantées. Item, aucuns noyaux de dattes, qui en produisent de fort belles, mais on ne les sait pas bien accoutrer par deçà; et encore qu'aucuns en mangent, elles ne sont si parfaites, faute de les savoir accoutrer. Item, plusieurs, et fort beaux, cassiers, et, avec cette excellente beauté, ils sont grands. Item, l'on a planté plusieurs seps et provins de

vignes, lesquels certes rapportent de bons raisins, et crois qu'ils y viendroient à foison, si l'on mettoit peine a les planter et cultiver, comme il est besoin. Mais parceque la terre est humide, si-tot que la vigne a rendu son fruit, elle recommence incontinent à bourgeonner, pourvû qu'on la fouisse, et accoutre, si qu'elles perdent bientôt leur naïve bonté, et sont incontinent usées. Item, de grands et beaux oliviers, mais qui n'apportent que des feuilles, sans aucun fruit; et c'est chose grandement esmerveillable que tous les fruits à noyau qu'on apporte d'Espagne, prennent bien racine, et croissent assez, mais ne rapportent que des feuilles, et point de fruit. J'ai pourtent apporté de Tolede quelques noyaux de pêches, de presses, d'alvers, de prunes, de frayles, de cerises, de guines, et de pommes de pin, que j'ai fait semer, et pas un n'a pris racine. Item, les plantains qui croissent si bien ici, que j'en ai plus de quatre mille piés dans mes jardins, et qu'ils sont communs à présent dans toute l'Espagnole, et les autres îles, y furent apportés de l'isle de la grande Canarie, l'an 1516, et j'ai appris, de plusieurs personnes dignes de foi, que ce fruit est de l'Inde orientale. Item, le douces cannes, des quelles on fait le sucre, dont sourdent si grands profits, ont été apportées des isles Canaries. Pierre d'Atienca fut le premier qui les planta en cette isle (Hispaniola), en la Cité de la Conception de la Vega."

When the European discoverers first reached the Antilles, they found all the islands covered with deep forests, whose enormous timbers were bound together by an infinite variety of parasitical plants peculiar to the tropics, forming gloomy bowers, and impenetrable masses of the deepest shade. The annual fall of the leaves in these virgin woods, their decomposition, and the natural destruction of the ponderous trunks which bore them, withered by age, or felled by lightning, rendered the earth they covered extremely rich, and forced a prodigious vegetation in those plants which arose as substitutes to the fallen. By a singular predilection of nature, their roots extended superficially, in proportion to the weights they were destined to sustain, and seldom penetrated three feet below the surface. The trees, springing from cliffs, or the summits of mountains, were, for the most

part, of the hardest texture; while the valleys, fertilized at the expense of the mountains, were filled with timbers of a softer nature; beneath which grew those succulent plants which the earth liberally produced, to supply the wants of its natural inhabitants.

Amongst these, the Caribbean cabbage, the sweet potatoe, the igname, and the couch-couch, are of indigenous growth. Nature, which appears every where to unite, by a certain mysterious link, the inhabitants of a country with the natural productions which are destined for their support, has placed in the tropical regions of the Antilles a profusion of those cooling vegetables which flourish in the shade, and require no culture, but spontaneously produce fruit three or four times in every year. The Indians took no hint from nature, which destroys one production to give fresh vigour to another; but allowed the earth to prepare her own vegetating germ, without confining it to place, or limiting it to time. Gathering, as chance or season directed, those fruits which offered themselves in abundance to supply their wants, they observed only that the decomposition of what they abandoned was necessary to the reproduction of that which was to succeed; but it never occurred to them to use artificial means for the purpose of regulating or forwarding this simple process of a teeming soil; while nature seemed so far to respect the plants destined to be their food, that she confined the clogging parasites to the sterile trees and useless shrubs.

The original inhabitants of Jamaica, with the exception of the subjects of the Cacique who ruled the Pedro plains, placed their settlements chiefly on insulated spots, which they cleared in the depths of the woods, commanding views of each other's villages, without regard even to the accommodation of neighbouring rivers. Such spots as these are still to be traced in the interior forests, where patches of fern mark the sterility which Indian cultivation caused. Here they confined themselves to the rude production of cocoa and ginger; for nature unassisted supplied all their other wants.

Cocoa was afterwards the favourite staple of the Spanish commerce, trifling as that commerce was; and when the British took possession of the island, it was that which first engaged their attention. The extensive plantations left by their predecessors, who had made it their principal food and only export, soon however began to fail. They were renewed: but, whether it might be from the want of attention, or of information, in the new colonists, the plants never succeeded under their management; so that, disgusted with the troublesome and unprofitable cultivation, they soon substituted indigo. Yet forests of cocoa trees grew wild in the isthmus of Darien, Yucatan, Honduras, Guatimala, Chiapa, and Nicaragua; while in Cuba, St. Domingo, and Jamaica, it was once an indigenous plant.

The following were the expenses of a cocoa plantation during the early period of the British settlement:—

	Sterling.
Letters-patent of 500 Acres of Land	£ 10
Six Negroes	120
Four white Servants—their passage and maintenance	80
Maintenance of six Slaves, for first six months	18
Working Implements	5
	£233

In four years the produce of one hundred acres would usually sell for 4,240*l.* sterling.

Indigo was the next plant which attracted the attention of the English settlers; and in Jamaica it flourished more abundantly than in any other colony. The labour of a single negro would often bring to his owner 30*l.* sterling per annum clear profit; a sum which, at that period, was the labourer's highest price. This plant probably derived its origin, as it doubtless did its name, from the elder Indies of the East, where it has long shed its brilliant hues on the fine linens manufactured in the looms of the most ancient empires. It is a native of such a fiery clime, that it will shoot vigorously even through the sands of those parched savannas where other vegetables perish. It continued the staple of Jamaica until an intolerable tax oppressed it, while

its price was lowered by the competition of other colonies. Its cultivation immediately declined throughout them all; but no where so rapidly as here. The financial error was quickly discovered; a remedy was attempted by a bounty: but it came too late; the plantations were thrown up, and the planters, attracted by the temporary gain, abused the tardy boon, by introducing, as of their own growth, large quantities of foreign indigo. Its cultivation had been nearly abandoned, when that of

Cotton was renewed; for amongst the Indians it had been one of their most valued indigenous plants; so that when its culture had decayed in the other British settlements, it flourished most in Jamaica. The consequence was, that the English colonies were unable to supply sufficient to keep the manufactories employed, and the duty on foreign cotton being withdrawn, a death-blow was given to its profitable production here.

The culture of *Ginger* had, however, no such vicissitudes to apprehend; its root possessed the advantage of remaining many years in the ground, without decay or detriment, and little expense attended either its harvest or preparation; but it rapidly wasted the soil, leaving it fit for no other production. The Indians had made use of ginger; and nature, unassisted, furnished sufficient to supply their limited consumption. The novelty of such a spice soon attracted the attention and whetted the appetites of their conquerors, who attributed to it the most wonderful medicinal properties, and served it at their tables in every shape. The Old World quickly adopted the taste of the New; ginger, mixed with the eastern pepper,—at that time scarce and little known,—crept from the tables of the great down to general use. But as the eastern spice became cheap and plentiful, it decayed in fashion; while ginger accompanied its decline. Its average export from Jamaica had, however, for some years remained at about 650,000lb.; but the price quickly fell to little more than ten shillings per cwt.; so that when its cultivation was abandoned, this indestructible root remained in the ground over vast tracts of land, where it is even yet often

met with. It has lately again become an article of interest, and is partially cultivated with profit and success.

The native *Pimento*, a tree peculiar to Jamaica, was, in its early use, quite as much esteemed as the ginger. Its discovery is thus noticed by Acosta:—"Un frère de nostre Compagnie, qui a voyagé en beaucoup, et divers endroits, nous ayt recité qu'en les deserts de l'isle Jamaycque il avoit trouvé des arbres, où croissoit du poivre. Mais l'on n'est point encore certain que s'en soit, et n'y a point mesme de traitte de ces espiceries aux Indes.".

The medicinal qualities of the pimento are highly extolled by Sir Hans Sloane; and, in appearance, the tree is one of the most elegant productions of nature. It grows spontaneously and abundantly, particularly in the hilly regions, where the sea-breeze wafts an odour which vies with that of the spice groves in Arabia. A remarkable singularity in the natural history of this tree, is, that it cannot be improved by any known exertions of human art; which, indeed, very often fails even in its propagation. The return given by a pimento plantation, with seasonable weather, is prodigious; though such seasons occur not oftener than once in five years. This circumstance, added to the great fluctuation in its price, has caused it to become little more than a spontaneous tribute of the soil; many beautiful groves have been cut down, and whole forests still stand unheeded in the interior. It may, in fact, be said that the parish of Saint Ann now supplies three-fourths of the pimento which is consumed throughout the world.

Logwood was introduced to Jamaica from Honduras in the year 1715, and now overruns large tracts of land, affording a profitable but precarious article of export.

The *Date* was introduced by the Spaniards at an early period, and its fruit, as a conserve, formed a considerable article of luxury; but it is now nearly extinct.

The *Cocoa-nut* tree was originally brought from the Main; and is now so common, especially on the north side of the island, that its delicious oil may be purchased from the slaves in almost any quantity, and at the low price of a macaroni per quart.

The *Sago Palm* was captured in a French ship, and presented to the island by Lord Rodney. It has been commonly propagated from this original stock, but without profit or use. In Amboyna, and in various parts of the East, sago-powder is made from this tree; but here the process is not known, and the plant remains unheeded.

The *Cabbage Tree* (areca oleracea) grows in the mountainous districts to the height of one hundred and seventy feet, bearing a leafy heart on its summit, which, when boiled, nearly resembles the sea-kale; but to obtain this luxurious morsel, the whole tree is usually sacrificed: yet, were the inmost leaf carefully left, the vegetation would be renewed around it, and the production from one of the most beauteous trees in nature annually repeated.

The *Mahogany* was once very plentiful here, and the wood superior to that of Honduras; but it is now chiefly confined to the interior mountains, where, in the neighbourhood of Hector's river, some trees may yet be seen measuring thirty feet in circumference.

The *Vanglo* (sesamum Indicum) was first brought to Jamaica by the Jews, as an article of food. It yields an expressed oil, which is clear and sweet as that from almonds; and probably the Behen's oil used in varnish is no other.

The *Palma Christi* (ricinus communis) is of such speedy growth, that in one year it arrives at maturity and its full height, about twenty feet. The castor oil is thence obtained in two ways,—by expression, and by decoction. A gallon of the seed yields about two pounds of oil. When cold drawn, the mucilaginous and acrid parts of the nut mixing with the oil, produces a rancid flavour, which renders it less esteemed than when it is obtained by boiling. Previous to the revolt of British America, the planters here universally imported train-oil, for lighting their sugar-works; but necessity then drove them to try the oil of the Palma Christi; and it was discovered that it burnt more clear, and with a less offensive smell than fish oil, which it has now, in a great measure, superseded.

Bitterwood (picrania amara) is a tall and beautiful tim-

ber, common to all the forests of Jamaica. Sir Joseph Banks found it to be a new genus of the petandria monogynia of Linnæus. Every part of the tree is so intensely bitter that no insect will remain on any furniture made of it. It is often mistaken for the quassia amara of Linnæus, to which it has a near affinity.

The *Camphor* tree was another of the captured plants presented by Lord Rodney; and of which there is a fine specimen growing at Belle Vue, in the Santa Cruz mountains. But it remains one of those numerous productions which a want of enterprise suffers to be neglected.

The *Laurus Sassafras*, the roots and bark of which are valuable in medicine, was successfully introduced from North America; but its culture has been unattended to.

The *Mimosa Nilotica*, and *Mimosa Senegal*, have both shared a similar fate.

The *Cinnamon* tree was brought by Lord Rodney, and some few scions from the parent stem yet flourish in gardens; but no pains have been taken to improve or propagate the plant.

The *Hepatic*, or *Barbadoes Aloes* (aloe perfoliata), is common to all the West India islands; and the following is the method in which the well-known drug is thence prepared:—The plant is pulled up by the roots, and carefully cleansed from the earth. It is then sliced and cut in pieces into small baskets or nets; these nets are put into large boilers with water, and boiled for ten minutes, when they are taken out, and fresh parcels supplied until the liquor is strong and black. It is then strained into a deep vat, narrow at bottom, wherein it cools and deposits its feculent parts. On the following day the liquor is drawn off, and again boiled in an iron vessel, at first briskly, but slower towards the end of the evaporation; during which it requires constantly stirring. When it becomes of the consistency of honey, it is poured into calabashes for sale, and there hardens by age and exposure.

The *Succotrine Aloe* (aloe spicata) was once in the Jamaica botanical garden; but, with many other valuable

plants the gift of Dr. Fothergill, it perished by neglect or removal.

The *Dumb Cane* (arum arborescens) is an indigenous plant, and has been esteemed efficacious in cases of dropsy. Taken improperly, the juice inflames the mouth and fauces, so as to render the person speechless.

Three species of *Cinchona* are natives of Jamaica; the C. Triflora, C. Caribæa, and C. Brachycarpa. Of the first of these Dr. Wright gives a minute description, with a plate, in Vol. LXVII. of the "Philosophical Transactions." They are all efficacious in intermittent fevers; but the C. Caribæa comes the nearest to the officinal bark in its virtues, while the other two, like the Saint Lucia bark, prove emetic in small doses.

The *Croton Eleutheria* is common near the sea; and its bark, according to Dr. Wright's opinion, is the Cascarilla and Eleutheria of the shops. Other writers suppose them distinct barks. Linnæus's Croton Cascarilla is the wild rosemary of Jamaica; the bark of which possesses none of the sensible qualities of the Cascarilla.

The *Epidendrum Vanilla*, which is so carefully cultivated in the Spanish West Indies, has been found in the mountains of Jamaica, by Dr. Swartz, a learned Swedish botanist. The pod of this plant is a valuable perfume; but it remains one of those numerous productions little known, and culpably disregarded.

The *Cacoon* (fevillea scandens) yields an oil, or fat, as white and hard as tallow. It has been employed for similar purposes on the Musquito shores.

The pods of the *Okra*, which may be advantageously gathered green and sent to Europe, are here usually employed in soups; forming the principal vegetable ingredient of the celebrated pepper-pot, which in fact is a rich olla, compounded also of meat, dried fish and pepper. In the East Indies the correspondent food characteristic of the climate, is called *mullicatauney*, a native word, literally signifying pepper-water.

Cassada (jatropha janipha) yields a great quantity of

starch, which the natives of Brazil export under the name of tapioca; few persons here are aware that this delicious food thus grows almost spontaneously in their gardens;—so little is the cassada known, except in the shape of tasteless cakes. There are two kinds of cassada; the wild (J. gossypifolio) and the bitter (J. mancho). The unboiled juice of the bitter is a deadly poison; it is sometimes used, however, to form the amidon*, by drying it in the sun, when it becomes purely white. The Spaniards gave it the name of mouchache when thus prepared; and with it composed the most delicate cakes. Various methods were employed to extract this juice, and the residuum is that which forms the cassada, and the flour of mainoc, which is used as bread throughout almost all America. Cassada formed the component part of the principal beverage of the Indians, and was much used also by the Spaniards. It was called ouycou, and was thus made:—A large earthen vessel was nearly filled with sixty quarts of water, into which two cassada roots were broken, with a dozen sweet potatoes, four quarts of sugar-cane juice, and twelve ripe bananas. The vessel was closed, and the mixture left to ferment two or three days; when the scum being removed, the clear liquor was ready for use. It is said to have been strong and refreshing: but surpassed by the maby, a species of Indian beverage more resembling wine, and which a French author affirms is "un vin claret aussi fin que le meilleur Poiré de Normandie." It is thus made: into thirty quarts of water are put two of clarified syrup, twelve red sweet potatoes, and as many oranges cut into quarters:—the mixture is then allowed to ferment about thirty hours.

There are many species of the *Lime*, *Lemon*, and *Citron*, now growing wild in Jamaica—some of them possessing the most delicious flavour and fragrance; but they were all brought here originally by the Spaniards. Theophrastus, who studied under Plato and Aristotle, speaking of lemons,

* This word, used by French authors, has been supposed to have a Greek origin.—Perhaps it is derived from the Italian *amido*; and was here applied with reference to the bleaching qualities of the plant.

says that they were cultivated for their fragrance, not for their taste: that their rind was laid amongst garments, to preserve them from insects; and that the juice was administered medicinally, to cure a bad breath. Virgil in his second Georgic, describes the lemon tree; and Pliny mentions the use of lemon-juice as an antidote, but says that the fruit, from its austere taste, was never eaten. Plutarch witnessed the introduction of lemons at the Roman tables*; Juba, King of Mauritania, was the first who exhibited them at his dinners; and Athenæus introduces Democritus as not wondering that the old folks make wry faces at the taste of lemons, for that in his grandfather's time they were never set upon table. To this day the Chinese, who grow the fruit, seldom apply it to culinary purposes. In fact, the use of lemons for such purposes followed the introduction of sugar, when Sicily was conquered by the Arabs in the ninth century. Sestini, in his letters from Sicily and Turkey, asserts that the best species of lemon and superior sherbet are to be found in the neighbourhood of Florence. Rome, however, which even in the dark ages still continued the seat of luxury and refinement, had made the art of compounding lemonade its own, before either Messina or Florence. In Madagascar slices of lemon are broiled and eaten with salt. Pomet gives the preference to the lemons of Madeira: but, according to Ferrarius, there grows at the Cape a species of sweet lemon, to which he gives the name of incomparabilis, and which is no other than the insipid, though fragrant fruit, well known in Jamaica.

There is a species of wild *Cinnamon* common here, which has been falsely considered, in the Cortex Winteranus, the tree which Captain Winter introduced a knowledge of when he returned with Drake. The outer bark of this Jamaica cinnamon is thicker than the eastern spice, more white and

* The French sang-gris "est composé d'eau de vie, de vin de Madère, et de jus de citron, avec de la canelle, et du girofle en poudre, beaucoup de muscade, et une croûte de pain brûlée. Le lemonade se fait avec d'eau de vie, et du vin de Canarie, avec du sucre, et du jus de citron, toutes sortes d'épiceries, et de l'essence d'ambre."

pungent, and partaking rather of the flavour of the clove. It formerly grew abundantly between Passage Fort and Spanish town; but its use having become known to the slaves, their rude way of stripping the bark has rendered it almost extinct.

M. l'Abbé Raynal, with his usual confidence and inaccuracy, asserts that the *Sugar-cane* was first brought to Jamaica from Barbadoes in the year 1668. But there is very good reason to believe that it was indigenous in all the Antilles; and La Borde mentions it as a plant in common use amongst the Charaibs. Traphan speaks of it as commonly cultivated in Jamaica about that period; and that in 1671 there were numerous sugar-works well established. "On the margin of the rising hills," says he, "which still terminate our dexterous aspects, the most remarkable sugar-works allure us. The stranger is apt to ask what village it is,—for every completed sugar-work is no less, the various and many buildings bespeaking as much at first sight; for, besides the more large mansion-house with its offices, the works, such as the well-contrived mill, the spacious boiling-house, the large receptive curing-houses, still-house, commodious stables for the grinding cattle, lodging for the overseer, the white servants, working shops for the necessary smiths, others for the framing carpenters and coopers; to all which, when we add the streets of the negro houses, no one will question to call such complicated sugar-works a small town or village." Such establishments bear, indeed, no marks of a very recent origin. And Raynal, probably, was misled by the fact that about the period he mentions, Moddyford brought hither from Barbadoes some plants of a better species of cane, and greatly improved the culture of it: for in Saint Christopher and Barbadoes its cultivation had been attended to as early as the year 1625.

This plant, now the object of the greatest commerce in the world, was undoubtedly familiar to the ancients. Strabo, in the 15th Book of his Geography, observes that there is in India a rush which produces honey without the aid of bees; and Seneca, in his 83rd Epistle, describes sugar as a

substance found by the Indians on the stalk of a reed, and produced either by the dews of those regions, or by the exuding sap of the leaves, which sap was denominated salt, sugar, or honey. Dioscorides, enumerating the various kinds of honey which are called sugar, mentions another species of coagulated honey found in Arabia. Galen, in his 7th Book of Simples, mentions it; and there is every reason to believe that its cultivation was extended from India to Egypt; where it even yet grows wild in the marshes of the Nile, and is called "cassah," the reed. Its Latin name, *saccharum*, is probably derived, through the Greek, from this Coptic radical, read in the old Egyptian or Phœnician way, from right to left; or, according to the βουστροφηδον method, as oxen plough the ground: a point ever to be considered in tracing European and Greek words to their Oriental primitives. Thus, in Phile, the name of an island in the Nile, read it backwards, and we find El Heif, its ancient Coptic and present Arabian name. The same with respect to the Greek σακχαρον; where we trace the existing Egyptian name, with the addition only of the usual Greek termination ον.

The word *zucra*, or sugar, is derived from that monkish Latin, *zucharum*. When Horace wished to soften the harshness of his Falernian wine, he ordered his butler to mix honey with it; and it is argued thence, that even at the polished court of Augustus sugar could not have been known. Certainly not sugar in the form we now use it; but this does not invalidate the testimony of numerous authors, who assure us, that a sweet substance exuded from a reed or cane, and was in common use long before the age of Horace. It only proves that pure honey was used in preference to this rude production of nature. Accordingly, Apricius, the only gentleman-cook I have consulted, preferred honey in his sweetmeats.

That the sugar-cane had been cultivated in the East, through the most distant ages of the world, admits not of a doubt, though the modern method of preparing it was then little understood. The stem was merely wounded, and the

sun acting upon the juice as it flowed, hardened it into a balsamic gum. The Sanscreet histories * speak of a king who cut down a whole plantation of sugar-cane, that he might fill up the ditch of a besieged city with the stalks. Pliny also asserts, that "saccharum Arabia fert; sed laudatius India †:" and he appears to allude to the Canaries, when he says, that, according to the testimony of Juba, there grows in the Fortunate Islands trees like the ferula, from which, when in their black state, the natives express a bitter liquor; but when taken white, it is very sweet.

The various species of the sugar-cane caused the confusion which we find in the testimony of those who would confine the indigenous production of it to any particular spot in the tropical regions of the earth. The truth probably is, that it is a native of both the Indies, and that after its introduction to Sicily by the Arabs, in the ninth century, its migration thence to the south of Spain, and progressively to the Canaries, Madeira, and the American isles, merely relates to some more newly-discovered varieties. Guicciardini enumerates sugar amongst the imports from Madeira to Antwerp, in the year 1500 ‡. Sixteen years afterwards sugar-canes were common in Hispaniola; and in 1544, Benzo affirms that there were thirty-four sugar-mills established there. It is highly probable, indeed, that the sugar-cane was as well known to the original Indians of Jamaica, as it was, according to Benzo, to the Charaibs of the other islands.

The *Coffee* tree was unknown in Jamaica in the year 1676; and it was not until the year 1725, when the island trade was injured by the dismemberment of Honduras, that the heavy duties on sugar, and the competition of the French colonies, induced the industrious planters to turn their attention to it: they then petitioned for a protecting

* *Mahabharat*, in MSS.; in the possession of N. Halked, Esq.

† *Nat. Hist.*, cap. 12.

‡ *Discritti de Paesi Bassi*, p. 180. In the year 1664, sugar was plentifully grown in Spain. See *A Relation of a Voyage made through a great part of Spain*, by F. WILLOUGHBY.

bounty. Eight years afterwards the export was 3,000,000lbs.; and for a considerable time this was the only British colony where its cultivation was much attended to.

The word "coffee" is Arabic; the Turks pronounce it *caheuk*, and the Arabians *cahuah;* which is said to be the name for any thing that diminishes the appetite. The Mahometans distinguish three kinds of cahuah—wine, or any thing that inebriates; the extract from the pulp which contains the coffee-berry; and that from the berry itself. The deep-brown colour of the liquor occasioned its being called the syrup of the Indian mulberry; under which specious name it first became fashionable in Europe: and some who imported the pulp, called it the *flower of the coffee-tree;* but it failed in use. Coffee is used in vast quantities by the Turks and Arabians, and with peculiar propriety, as it counteracts the narcotic effects of opium, to the use of which they are much addicted.

In Syria the plant is of natural growth; but as the European writers who were engaged in the Crusades do not mention it, it could not have been much used during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Bruce affirms that the qualities of it were well known in Africa, and that the Gallæ, a wandering tribe which was obliged to traverse the deserts, carried no other provision than balls, compounded of coffee and butter; one of which would keep them in health and spirits through a day's journey better than any other food. In the royal library at Paris is an Arabian Manuscript, containing a voluminous history of coffee, in which it is said, that Gemaleddin-Ahou-Abdallah, Mufti of Aden, first introduced its use amongst the Turks, upon his return from Persia, where he had experienced the beneficial effects of it as a common beverage. The effendy, the kady, and all the inferior officers of the government, followed the example of this chief of the law; the use of coffee descended through the haram, to the house of every merchant; and the town of Aden set the example to the rest of Arabia. That town was then the great mart of all the Eastern Empires; the fame of this new beverage quickly spread thence; and in

the beginning of the fifteenth century it was introduced to Turkey. There it had to contend against political as well as religious obstacles, and coffee-shops were prohibited. The enthusiasm of religion gave way, however, to the seductive influence of sensitive enjoyment; and if political sagacity had not discovered the possibility of coffee-houses becoming the nurseries of intrigue, or the rendezvous of the disaffected, they would not have been long suppressed from motives of mere religious consideration. After many edicts to abolish them, they were at length suffered to exist, but rather as objects of jealousy than of encouragement; although they were heavily taxed, and still brought a vast revenue. Making coffee for the public is now considered of so much importance there, that it is under the inspection of seven principal officers, who have each of them about thirty subordinates employed: and it is said that inability, or refusal, to supply a wife with coffee, is among the legal grounds for obtaining a divorce.

In the west of Europe coffee remained totally unknown until the year 1573, when Rouwolff vaguely mentioned it; and eighteen years afterwards it was accurately described by Prosper Alpinus. Its use as a beverage was noticed by two English travellers: Biddulph, in 1603; and Finch, in 1607. In 1615 Pietro della Valle wrote from Constantinople that he should bring some coffee, which he believed was a thing unknown in England. In France it was introduced, at Marseilles, about the year 1644. Six years afterwards, several bales were imported from Egypt; and in 1671 a coffee-house was opened there. Soliman Aga, the ambassador from Sultan Mahomet IV., established the use of it in Paris in 1669, where it had been introduced twelve years previous by Thevenot, the celebrated traveller; and in 1672 the first public coffee-room was licensed there: Pascal, an Armenian, who long kept it afterwards, removed to London, and opened the first shop there in George-yard, Lombard-street.

The earliest mention of coffee in our statute-books occurs in 1660, (12 Charles II. c. 24,) when a duty of four-pence

per gallon was levied upon the maker. Three years afterwards, all retailers were compelled to take out a license at the sessions; and in 1674, coffee-houses were suppressed by proclamation, as being seminaries of sedition. Since that period they are frequently mentioned in the statutes, but merely with a reference to the regulation of duties. In France and Germany this beverage is usually made much better than in England. A lively French writer observes, that the English care little about the quality, provided they have enough of it. Dr. Fothergill was of opinion, that if the poor and middling classes could procure it, it would be much more beneficial than the wretched beverage of ordinary tea in which they indulge. On the other hand, the thesis, entitled *Potus, Coffæ* delivered by a Swedish student at Upsal, and published in the Amœnitates Academicæ, under the direction of Linnæus himself, is a sarcastic invective against the introduction of this novel luxury. It contains a ludicrous account of the expensive equipage required by the fashion of the times; and enumerates, with triumphant satisfaction, the long train of bodily disorders which it was likely to generate.

The production of coffee was still however confined to the East, though many vain attempts were made to raise the tree from its seed in Europe; which induced a belief that the Arabians dipt the berries in boiling water to destroy the vegetating germ, and thus preserve to themselves an exclusive commerce, which constituted all their riches. The plant was, however, carried to Batavia, and thence to Surinam, where it was discovered that the coffee-tree, like many others, grows only from ripe and recent seed. The Arabians attribute the superior qualities of their coffee to the manner of selecting, preparing, and planting the seed; and probably the careless manner in which the British coffee-planters in Jamaica raise their trees from self-sown sprouts, culled by heedless negroes, is one great cause of their speedy failure and inferior fruit. The Arabians, on the other hand, raise their plants in beds, from the seed of the most vigorous trees; they gather it at perfect maturity, and in dry weather

The outer pulp is carefully removed by rubbing in the hand; the two seeds, covered each with a thin pellicle, then separate easily, and are dried *in the shade.* In the rainy season each grain is separately sown, at distances of ten inches, in rich soil, and shaded by banana trees, while the earth is covered with leaves, to preserve moisture around the seeds until they spring. In about six weeks the plants appear, with the pellicle attached to the sprout. This is removed, and the two first leaves open. Care is taken to water them in dry weather, and they are left in the nursery-beds during the first year's growth. In preparing the ground for the plantation, instead of the rude mode adopted in these colonies of burning off the wood, which leaves the soil hard and scorched, they dig it to a considerable depth; or where the land abounds with rocks, they either raise terraces in stages of seven feet wide, or build a pit of three feet diameter, and there, in a made soil, plant each tree; continually attending to its supply of water, and keeping the earth refreshed with a compost of dried leaves and animal manure. They allow the tree to throw off its collateral branches from the stem, close down to the earth, and there form a *cep*, or thick bush, as high as the bearing wood, no doubt for the purpose of shading and keeping moist the roots; while all shoots from the fallen seed, or scions from the roots, are carefully removed. With all these precautions, however, the trees seldom continue bearing longer than forty years; and are considered on the decline after an age of twenty-five years. One of the principal objects with the Arabian coffee-planters is, to place their trees at such distances as to cause the branches of each, when full grown, to touch, but not to interfere with each other; thus forming an equal depth of shade over the whole surface of the field: and this shade is so dense, and the circulation of air beneath the trees so stifled, that the large boughs which compose the cep are moulded and covered with moss, while all extraneous vegetation is destroyed. The harvest there varies, according to situation, through the three last months of the year; and the maturity of the fruit is estimated by its red hue, when one side of the

berry inclines to the violet, and the other retains a little of its green cast: the tree then yields them easily, if shaken. The coffee is dried on terraces, or sometimes upon mats exposed to the wind and sun, and frequently turned, until its colour assumes a deep brown; but before it is housed it is allowed to cool in the shade. It is usually kept a considerable time in sacks previous to the dried pulp being removed; to effect which more easily, they moisten and press it the day before it is taken to the mill; for the grain is supposed to keep best in the husk, which is never removed until prepared for the market. The mills are of the rudest construction, and somewhat upon the same principle as the pulping machine used here; to set it to the size of the dried berries, and prevent its bruising the seeds, pebbles are thrown in, and supplied as necessary. Each workman has his mill, and with it prepares no greater quantity than about 80lbs. per day. The husks are carefully collected, especially those of the outward skin, which is an article of commerce; and for that reason it is, that the berries are first moistened, that the dried pulp may not be too much broken, though the moisture, no doubt, injures the colour of that part which alone is esteemed in Europe.

The commerce in these husks is very considerable; for the Arabians of all the Yemen districts take it as their ordinary beverage, and never use the grain itself. It is considered, indeed, as infinitely superior, and thence derives its name of *caffé à la sultane*. When quite dry and ripe, these husks are bruised, and, in an earthern vessel, roasted uniformly over a charcoal fire, not as coffee usually is, but only until it assumes a light-brown colour. While hot it is thrown into the pot of boiling water, with a small proportion of the pellicle or parchment skin: all is boiled together for a few minutes, and then served hot and strong, but without sugar. Sometimes a drop of essence of amber is put into each cup; or cloves, anniseeds, or cardamons are boiled with it.

The Arabians, who frequently keep their coffee in their warehouses, that they may sell it as the first gathering of the succeeding year—which is most esteemed, are particularly

careful in preserving it from contracting any humidity, which they guard against by packing it in bags, and placing them at a distance from the walls upon low tressels, allowing a free current of air to pass amongst them; a precaution which would probably render the quality of West Indian coffee much superior to what it is. It is less apt to contract moisture when kept in the husk, than when in grain; but in either case, should it become heated or damp, it must be placed in the sun, and then dried *in the shade*, or the grains will swell, turn white, and become musty.

All the coffee grown in Arabia does not amount to more than nine millions of pounds; a quantity inconsiderable when compared with the vast export from the British West Indies. The greater portion of the Eastern coffee is carried to Gedda, and thence to Turkey; while the rest finds its way to Mocha, where it is shipped in vessels to the Persian Gulf and to Europe. It was from Beït-el-Faguil, the European factory near Mocha, that the coffee-tree was transported to the Isle de Bourbon, in the year 1718; and it is remarkable, that the islanders recognised the plant as natural to their own country, and brought the astonished importers abundance from their native mountains. Thus the French planters account for the inferiority of the early produce of that colony which was gathered from these wild trees.

Tobacco was indigenous in the island of Hispaniola, says Oviedo, and no doubt it was the same in Jamaica, for it was much used by the native Indians, who smoked it from a tube in the shape of the letter Y, the two branches being inserted in their nostrils, and the stem placed in the burning leaves. The plant was called by them *cohiba*, and its present name was derived from this rude instrument of their enjoyment, *tabaco*.

There is nothing more astonishing in the history of the human mind, than that unaccountable kind of prejudice which is evinced at the introduction of any novelty. This kind of feeling occasioned it to be debated on first adopting the use of potatoes, whether they were not a violent poison.

It resisted the small-pox inoculation some years ago, and the vaccine in the present age; and is no where more strikingly exhibited than in the opposition which tobacco met with throughout Europe. Who would have thought that a king of England, two centuries ago, and that one of the most needy of our monarchs, would have written a tract in the bitterest style of invective, expressly to prevent the use of that luxury, the duties on which now yield to the state more than the amount of his entire revenue. James I., in his "Counter-blast to Tobacco," says, "that it is not only a common herbe, which, though under divers names, grows almost every where, but was first found out by the barbarous Indians;"—and he asks his "good countrymen to consider what honours or policy can move them to imitate the manners of such wild, godlesse, and slavish people." His Majesty in his "witty Apophthayms" says, "that were he to invite the devil to a dinner, he would have three dishes,—a pig, a poll of ling and mustard, and a pipe of tobacco for digesture." Sir Walter Raleigh, who first introduced the use of tobacco to England, was so partial to it that he smoked a pipe as he was going to the scaffold. A walnut-shell and a straw formed the first pipes, and the herb was then sold for its weight in silver. The following ironical encomium on, and serious invective against, tobacco, is by the famed author of the "*Anatomy of Melancholy*," page 374 (4to, Oxford, 1638):—"Tobacco, divine, rare, super-excellent tobacco, which goes far beyond all their panaceas, potable gold, and philosophers' stones; a sovereign remedy to all diseases! A good vomit, I confesse; a vertuous hearb, if it be well qualified, opportunely taken, and medicinally used; but as it is commonly abused by most men, which take it as tinkers doe ale, 'tis a plague, a mischiefe, a violent purger of goods, lands, health;—hellish, devilish, and damned tobacco, the ruine and overthrowe of body and soule!"

The strain of the following parody in the style of Ambrose Phillips, differs widely from the invective of Burton.

"Little tube of mighty power,
Charmer of an idle hour,

Object of my warm desire,
Lip of wax, and eye of fire:
And thy snowy taper waist,
With my finger gently braced;
And thy pretty swelling crest,
With my little stopper prest."—&c.

A plant is found in the mountain districts of Jamaica, particularly in the woods which divide the parish of Manchester from Saint Ann, the properties of whose sap bear so strong an affinity to the *Jatropha Elastica* of South America, that it has been confounded with that plant. It is a parasitical withe, very scabrous, and usually covered with lichen, but seldom putting forth any foliage until it reaches the summit of some lofty tree, around which it climbs. A transverse incision yields abundantly a milky fluid, which, inspissated by exposure, or even rubbed in the palm of the hand, forms a substance, to all appearance and purpose, similar to the Indian rubber. But it must be observed, that if the incision be made too deep, so as to divide the substance of the wood beneath the bark, it pours forth a pure pellucid water in great abundance; which, mixing with the milky sap from the bark, though it vastly increases the quantity, diminishes the original properties of the fluid which produces the caoutchouc. The juice which affords the concrete, resembles animal milk so much in its obvious appearances, that it might be easily mistaken for it by a careless observer. The best sap is procured from the oldest vines: from them it is often obtained in consistence equal to thick cream, which will yield two-thirds of its own weight in gum. The chemical properties of this vegetable milk surprisingly resemble those of animal milk. From its decomposition by spontaneous fermentation, or by the addition of acids, a separation takes place between its caseous and serous parts, both of which are very similar to those produced by the same processes from milk. An oily or butyraceous matter is also one of its component parts, and appears upon the surface of the gum as soon as the latter has attained its solid form. The presence of this considerably impedes the progress of experiment; for in making bottles and various

other articles, upon dipping the clay-mould, or last, a second time in the milk, and exposing it to the air, the fluid divides and runs off like water upon wax, which is only to be remedied by washing the surface with soap and water, and then rubbing the fluid over the mould with the fingers. When using a brush, the hair immediately becomes united in a solid mass. In this manner about thirty coats are necessary to form the usual substance of the American caoutchouc. It is now well known that many plants of the torrid zone afford a juice, which, when inspissated, approaches to the nature of caoutchouc in several respects, among which may be ranked the *ficus religiosus et indica*, the *artocarpus integrifolia; hippomane biglandulosa, cecropia peltata*, &c. There are even some plants of European production, which possess a similar quality; particularly the *choudrilla juncea*, a native of the South of France. The milky juice of the common fig-tree, that of several kinds of the *tythemales*, and *apocynum*, the white misletoe (*viscum album*, Linn.), are said to possess many of the properties of the caoutchouc: and M. Faujas de Saint Fond, gives a preparation of the viscid juice obtained from the common holly, which for some purposes may be substituted for Indian rubber.

The abundance of the withe above described, which may be found here, and the facility with which it might be applied to all the purposes for which it is rendered valuable in the East (see *Anderson's Recreations*), such as a substitute for oil-cloth, tarpaulins, and even as a roof for houses, might render the production of infinite value to this colony.

The *Prickly Pear* (cactus opuntia), a native of all the Antilles, and which the French have named raquette, yields a fruit on which feeds an insect bearing a strong resemblance to the cochineal. Labat affirms, indeed, that it is no other; and suggests the idea that vast tracts of land, which are now unprofitable, might be employed in the culture of this hardy plant, which thrives in the most barren districts of Jamaica.

M. de Prevost, amongst the natural productions of Jamaica, thus speaks of one: "Entre les raretés du pays on compte une plante que les Anglois nomment *Spirit weed;*

dont la graine n'est pas plutôt mûre, que si l'on touche un vaisseau qui la contient, il s'ouvre, avec un bruit fort aigu, et se répand assez loin."

Ambergris was frequently collected by the Spaniards from the shores of this island; and the author above quoted speaks of a mass weighing eighty pounds having been found here: "dans un lieu qui en a pris le nom de Pointe d'Ambergris, où l'on sait que les Espagnols alloient deux fois l'an, pour en chercher. Cette grosse masse étoit divisée en deux lobes."

There are several indigenous pot-herbs highly esteemed by the first European inhabitants of Jamaica, but which are now neglected in cultivation, and scarcely known except to the negroes: the *Guingambo*, a plant described as growing five feet high; "ses feuilles, qui sont grandes, ridées, rudes, et découpées, ressemblent assez à celles de la guimauve;"—the *Moussembey*, "une seconde herbe potagère," of which only the leaves were eaten:—and "la troisième espèce d'herbe se nomme *Sacramalon*; elle s'élève à la hauteur de cinq piés. Sa feuille, seule partie qu'on puisse manger, est longue d'environ six pouces, peu chargée de nervures, épaisse, et fort verte. La tige n'excède guères la grosseur du doigt; elle se charge de plusieurs grappes, comme des panaches de petites fleurs, où le verd, le rouge, le violet, le pourpre, sont agréablement mêlés, et qui se convertissent en petits fruits de la grosseur d'un pois, d'un violet tirant sur le pourpre, qui renferme, dans une peau mince et unie comme celle du raisin, une substance molle, aqueuse, d'une odeur désagréable, au milieu de laquelle croît une espèce d'amande assez sèche, qui est la semence de la plante." —*Hist. Gén. des Voyages*, xxiii. 459.

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